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TIME TO KILL JIM CROW

The Negro, the South and the Coming Election

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changes in the South that have been measurable. Southern gradualism regarding slavery, the extension of the franchise, or the granting of equal rights has always moved at a pace that has been imperceptible even to the most scrutinizing and charitable observer.

National opinion must be convinced that enforcement of the Constitution will minimize rather than incite violence. Despite all the fearful chatter about "troops and bayonets," I have failed to find a single proposal for the use of either in the current discussion of desegregation. Given a firm stand by the leaders of both political parties in favor of the court's decision, there will be no need for troops or bayonets. But if troops were necessary to enforce the Constitution, then they should be used. There is ample precedent. The South's addiction to violence cost the lives of 493,313 Americans in the Civil War; these dead should be kept in mind when, today, ninety-three years after the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation, we permit rioting college students to defy a federal court order.

THE CONSTANT references to "troops and bayonets" has the effect of permitting elected officials of the executive and legislative branches of the government to shirk their Constitutional responsibilities. These branches, and notably the executive, are forcing the Supreme Court, whose members do not stand for reelection, to carry a burden which should be shared by all three branches. It is nonsense to suggest that only by the use of troops and bayonets can the federal government today ensure the right of a qualified Negro citizen to vote in a federal election in Mississippi. But if all other means failed, then troops and bayonets, and for that matter tanks and grenades, should be used to secure this right—and with a perfectly clear national conscience. A parliamentary government that cannot command respect for the integrity of its elections hardly deserves the title of government. The truth is that the Negro's right to vote in Mississippi goes unsafeguarded today not because we fear violence and bloodshed, but because neither political party views the extension of democratic processes throughout the South as wholly desirable. The leadership of either party has never been made to feel that the scandal of a tolerated non-compliance with the Constitution should be stopped.

Once the myths and misconceptions which the South so adroitly fosters have been demolished, a strong national opinion against discrimination can make itself felt. The means are apparent. Specifically, public opinion should demand of both parties: (1) that the second section of the Fourteenth Amendment be invoked to reduce the representation in Congress of any state that discriminates in the exercise of the franchise in federal elections on the basis of color; (2) that representation in Congress shall be based on votes cast and not on population *per se* (if this step is necessary); (3) that modification be made of a seniority system that gives the Bourbon Democrats control of the key committee chairmanships when the Democrats control Congress; (4) that the Negro's right to vote in federal elections be safeguarded by appropriate action and legislation; (5) the adoption, as a minimum, of the civil-rights program sponsored by the Administration; (6) the enactment of the one lonely civil-rights proposal set forth in Senator Lyndon Johnson's thirteen-point legislative program for the Democratic Party—a measure to eliminate the poll-tax in federal elections.

Public opinion should insist that the federal government take such action as is required to assure that all areas of the South obey the law. The increasing gravity of the school-integration problem imposes upon the national government the obligation to do these things: (1) the President must clearly and unequivocally employ the great prestige and influence of his high office to guarantee compliance with the Constitution; (2) federal funds for education should be withheld from school districts that do not make a start toward desegregation; (3) a specific time-table should be established for compliance with the desegregation decision. The phrase "all deliberate speed" does not, as Dr. Freund notes, derive from the haunting refrain in Francis Thompson's religious poem, "The Hound of Heaven"—"Deliberate speed, majestic instancy"—but it implies action, movement and good faith.

Furthermore, national opinion should insist upon the establishment of a genuine two-party system. The principal remedy against abuse of power and maladministration that nowadays remains to the ordinary

Walt Partymiller in York (Pa.) Gazette and Daily

citizen — by ordinary citizens I mean all citizens other than the estimated 20,000 who will contribute the approximately $200,000,000 to finance this year's campaigns — is the power to "vote the rascals out," that is, to substitute one party for another. This is an effective remedy — the trump card in the democratic deck — but it assumes the existence of two parties. The denial of democracy in the South has kept the Democratic Party from being an independent alternative; even that great political leader Roosevelt was finally made to realize the South's power in the party.

The denial of democracy has also restricted the effect of national opinion in a major region and has prevented the development there of a two-party system. Jim Crow, as Dr. Du Bois pointed out in a remarkable article in this magazine (October 17, 1928), is "the central danger of American democracy; the thing that makes it impossible for American people of today to vote logically or coherently on any subject whatsoever; that incubus is the bloc of 114 to 139 electorate votes which are *out of politics* in the sense that no political discussion, no appeal to intelligence or justice, has any influence on them." (Emphasis added.)

In the South the dominance of an irrational issue has prevented the development of parties based on issues and programs and has fostered a spurious regional unity based on the Jim Crow bond. Pressure on the parties should take two forms: on the Republicans to press the civil rights issue with more than deliberate speed, including measures like the proposed Powell amendment which is in the great tradition of the Wilmot Proviso. On the other hand, pressure should be applied on the Democrats to repudiate the Dixiecrat dominance. Candidates for the Democratic nomination this year should be called upon to repudiate the support of the Eastlands, Byrnes and other Dixiecrat leaders. Liberals did not hesitate to demand that President Eisenhower repudiate McCarthy and Jenner in 1952; they should not hesitate to insist on a repudiation of the Eastlands today. Party loyalty oaths are ill-advised; pressure of national opinion, notably of labor, minority and religious groups, can force the Democrats to disavow the Dixiecrats. But if the Democratic leaders will not repudiate the illegitimate connection, further experience as a defeated party may work the transformation.

The issue of civil rights—of Constitutional enforcement — is the burning one in this year's campaign. But with both parties committed to moderation in all things, including the question of enforcement, even this issue can be stifled. The danger is not public indifference; civil rights is the one issue which has consistently engaged the active interest of the nation. The real danger, as always, is that the political leaders of both parties will pretend that the issue does not exist and, misquoting Lincoln, will plead for more time and greater moderation. Only an indignant public opinion can prevent a repetition in 1956 of another shameful "compromise" like that of 1876. This year voters have a clear moral duty to insist that both parties take a firm stand on the one issue about which it is immoral to be moderate.

The *Nation's* editors believe that the articles in the following pages, each prepared by an expert in his field, confirm the thesis advanced in this editorial.

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1. Civil-Rights Football . . *CLARENCE MITCHELL*

ON JUNE 14, 1956, a forty-year-old Missouri Congressman, with one of the brightest futures in American politics, dropped the legislative equivalent of an H-bomb in the House Rules Committee. He made a motion to take up a bill that the seventy-three-year old chairman intended to pigeon-hole. The bill was H.R. 627, a civil-rights measure jointly backed by Democrats and Republicans.

Richard Bolling, the maker of the motion, was risking the wrath of chairman Howard Smith, uncompromising foe of civil rights, who openly admits that he uses all of his powers and skills to destroy civil-rights bills. Both men are Democrats.

Ordinarily, Representative Bolling's age alone would have been enough to keep his motion from prevailing. Freshmen Senators and Congressmen are expected to maintain almost total silence; those under fifty, even when they have served four terms—as has Mr. Bolling—are not expected to make use of their prerogatives to confound the elder statesmen of their party.

Fortunately, Mr. Bolling had the votes to win his point and, what is equally important, one of the elder statesmen on the committee helped to back him up. Clarence Brown, veteran Republican from Ohio, seldom misses a chance to spread confusion among the Democrats, but in this case he put the civil-rights issue above both party and protocol.

SHORTLY before the Rules Committee meeting, Joseph W. Martin, Jr., announced that if the Democrats would supply just two votes on the committee, the Republicans would provide the four necessary for a majority in favor of the bill. One Republican, Leo Allen of Illinois, did not support the motion and another, Henry J. Latham of New York, was absent, but Republican Harris Ellsworth of Oregon and Democrats Ray J. Madden of Indiana, James J. Delaney of New York and Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr., of Massachusetts helped

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CLARENCE MITCHELL is director of the Washington Bureau of the NAACP.

Mr. Bolling and Mr. Brown win by a vote of 6 to 4.

Southern chairmen of Congressional committees have often been able to kill or bottle up civil-rights legislation because they could count on active support from Republicans and, at the very least, a lack of resistance from northern Democrats. Without one of these props, the southern road-block to civil rights would totter. When both are removed, the road-block collapses. It is no exaggeration to say that Mississippi and Georgia Congressmen are virtually impotent without help from such states as Massachusetts and South Dakota.

THE eighty-fourth Congress has been a good illustration of Dixie at the wheel with Yankees stepping on the brake or blowing the horn. Perhaps the best example is furnished by the school-construction bill. Each day the press reports new stories on how southern legislatures are voting to defy the Supreme Court decision in the school-segregation cases. Representative Adam Clayton Powell and Senator Herbert Lehman, both New York Democrats, sponsored amendments which would prevent defiant states from using money provided under the bill to foster and extend racial segregation.

In the House, Graham Barden (D., North Carolina) is chairman of the Committee on Education and Labor which handled the bill. In the Senate, the chairman is Lister Hill (D., Alabama). Neither Mr. Barden nor Senator Hill had to carry the torch against the Powell and Lehman amendments; their colleagues from the North did the job for them. Senator Richard Neuberger, (D., Oregon) attacked the amendments because he said they rest "on the shakiest kind of moral and ethical ground." Representative Henry Aldous Dixon, (R., Utah) denounced the amendments in a lengthy statement before the House Rules Committee. Neither Mr. Neuberger nor Mr. Dixon stood up to the real problem: the simple fact that some members of Congress, like Mr. Barden, oppose federal aid to education unless states are given complete freedom to waste or misuse the money as they choose. Other legislators, like Senator Hill, warmly favor federal aid but face possible defeat in their home states if they support a bill with an anti-segregation proviso.

So long as the "separate but equal" doctrine prevailed, Senator Hill and other southern Congressmen were willing to accept amendments on the race question. Both the Hill-Burton Hospital Act and the School Lunch Law, for instance, include amendments forbidding discrimination on the basis of race. But now that the Supreme Court has knocked out the doctrine, the situation has changed.

On a broader front, the eighty-fourth Congress was an interesting example of how opponents of civil rights can choke action with the silken cord of precedent and tricky parliamentary maneuvering.

In the Senate, the Judiciary Committee must approve appointment of federal judges, U.S. district attorneys and the Attorney General himself. It receives numerous civil-rights bills and bills designed to destroy civil rights as well as to curb the Supreme Court.

During Senator Eastland's campaign for reelection in 1954, he boasted that as chairman of a subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee he had special pockets put in his pants to carry around civil-rights bills. He told his constituents that this was how he kept the subcommittee from acting on them during his absence. Mississippi newspapers, purring with satisfaction, pointed out that Jim Eastland was needed in the Senate because Harley Kilgore (D., West Virginia), then chairman of the Judiciary Committee, was a sick man and Eastland would really run the committee.

Senator Eastland

When Senator Kilgore died, both parties had a chance to show that they valued human rights more than precedent or political advantage. Neither party met the test. Only Senators Wayne Morse (D., Oregon) and Lehman opposed the motion that Senator Eastland should get the chairmanship because of seniority.

Although the chairman of the Judiciary Committee is powerful, he is not omnipotent. Republicans and northern Democrats could combine in committee to out-vote Eastland 11 to 4. In this instance, Mississippi's power lies in the support given by such "southern" states as Indiana, Utah and Idaho.

AT THE close of the first session of this Congress, Representatives Adam Powell (D., New York), James Roosevelt (D., California), Charles Diggs (D., Michigan), Hugh Scott (R., Pennsylvania) and John Heselton (R., Massachusetts) agreed that Democrats and Republicans should try to get better team-work on civil-rights issues. Before the second session began, meetings of Republicans and Democrats in the House were held on an informal basis; later, the friends of civil rights began to work together on a more organized basis. They laid the groundwork for stronger and broader co-operation in future Congresses.

When it appeared that the House Rules Committee would not grant a hearing on H.R. 627—the civil-rights bill—after it had been reported favorably by the House Judiciary Committee, the group started a discharge petition to bring the measure to the floor. The petition was initiated by resolutions filed by Mr. Roosevelt in behalf of the Democrats and Mr. Charles B. Brownson (R., Indiana) in behalf of the GOP members. The document required 218 signatures, but Mr. Bolling was successful in shaking the bill free in the Rules Committee after no more than 145 signatures had been collected. It should be noted that, al-

though he is himself a member of the committee, Mr. Bolling was one of the first to sign the document.

Protection of the right to vote was a key feature of civil-rights legislation discussed at this session of Congress. Southern opposition was as vigorous as it has been to a Fair Employment Practice Committee with enforcement powers or integration in the public schools. The same moth-eaten arguments used by Mississippi's John Rankin in 1942 against the war-time FEPC were advanced by Georgia's E. L. Forrester in 1956 against legislation to protect the right to vote. The only difference is that Rankin had a sense of humor.

Careful reading of the *Congressional Record* will show that voting is the cornerstone of civil rights. Behind the white supremacists' talk about intermarriage and preservation of the Anglo-Saxon heritage is the Southerner's haunting fear that one day the increased registration and voting of colored people in the South will take the race issue out of politics.

John Bell Williams of Mississippi's Fourth District is sent to Congress by fewer than 25,000 voters, although more than 400,000 people live in his district—half of them colored. When he orates on the necessity of maintaining the purity of the white race, he is really arguing that the impurities of the Mississippi election system must be preserved.

It is impossible to believe that keen minds like that of Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson in the Senate and Speaker Sam Rayburn in the House do not recognize that the American political system will never function with maximum effectiveness until the right to vote is fully protected in the South. What they are trying to do, apparently, is to postpone the inevitable showdown as long as possible. In a sense, this also was the attitude of President Dwight Eisenhower during 1956. He knew that Congress had an urgent obligation to act on voting problems but his long delay in sending a program to Congress gave both parties an excuse to drag their feet. The President promised in January that he would make civil-rights proposals; his Attorney General's program did not arrive until after Easter.

St. Louis Post-Dispatch

Carrying on the "Separate But Equal" theory.

Aside from the importance of getting civil-rights legislation passed, there is a growing need to meet challenges that are designed to turn back the clock on many issues. Numerous bills, such as H.R. 3, which was introduced as a measure to protect states against sedition and against encroachments by the Supreme Court, actually could be used to destroy organized labor. Another high-sounding proposal—the Daniel-Mundt Resolution—would revise the system of electing the President and Vice President. Senator Price Daniel of Texas had introduced a resolution to abolish the electoral college and to give a percentage of each state's electoral votes to the major candidates instead of giving all to the winning candidate, as is now done. Senator Karl Mundt of South Dakota had a plan to retain the electors but to choose them on the same basis as members of the House and Senate are now elected. These plans were combined in a joint compromise resolution. In speaking about his plan at a meeting in Jackson, Mississippi, Senator Mundt openly admitted it was aimed at killing the influence of Negroes and labor groups in national elections.

Fortunately, the Daniel-Mundt proposal was sent back to committee on Senator Daniel's own motion when he saw it would be defeated in a final vote. (In 1950, the Senate approved a similar proposal known as the Lodge-Gossett Amendment; a move to bring the measure up in the House that year was defeated.) A bipartisan plan of strategy was necessary to defeat the Daniel-Mundt plan. Democratic efforts to kill the measure were led by Senators John Kennedy of Massachusetts, Paul Douglas of Illinois and John O. Pastore of Rhode Island. Senator Clifford Case of New Jersey, who had halted the earlier proposal as a member of the House in 1950, rallied Republican strength. One can be certain that another attempt to get Congressional approval for the Daniel-Mundt plan or some version of it will be made in the next Congress.

Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post-Dispatch

Southern Road to Nowhere.

Again and again during the eighty-fourth Congress, the charge was made that Republicans or Democrats were playing politics with civil rights. Of course this charge was true, but it is equally true with respect to all major issues before Congress. Surely no one would assume that farm legislation, labor bills and health programs spring from purely altruistic motives.

The trouble with civil rights is that the issue *has not been political enough.* If more candidates thought that their elections depended on how they worked and voted for civil rights, the job of passing an FEPC with enforcement powers and all other civil-rights measures would be

easy. Increased interest in civil rights among Congressional Republicans is primarily based on that party's anticipation of a swing of Negro voters from the Democratic column in November. But even if the Republican Presidential candidate is a sure bet to win, the GOP might be unable to capture Congress if voters make a successful effort to defeat anti-civil rights Republicans in specific areas.

While it cannot be said that the Democrats have shown panic, it is apparent that the party leaders are no longer certain that they can retain the colored vote "because we are the poor man's party even though Jim Eastland is a member." Their strategy seems to be centered on shifting attention from the failures of this Congress to the "great fight" Democrats plan to make for a civil-rights plank this year.

It remains to be seen what voters think about the strategy devised by both parties.

2. The New Negro . . *E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER*

THIRTY YEARS ago a New Negro made his appearance in the North, following closely upon the mass migrations of Negroes from the South during and following World War I. His emergence was marked by race riots in which he resisted violence with violence. On the spiritual plane, the emergence was heralded by an artistic and literary renaissance in which the Negro made a new evaluation of his experience in America.

Today a New Negro is emerging in the South. So far, no race riots have marked the event nor are there any indications—yet—that the new spirit among Southern Negroes will produce an artistic and literary renaissance. Nevertheless, there are indications all over the South that the Negro is no longer afraid to face the white man and say frankly that he wants equality and an end to segregation.

Nothing so dramatizes the difference between old and new attitudes of the Negro in the South as the contrast between the dignity and courage of Autherine Lucy and the reported attitude of her parents. According to the New York *Times,* Miss Lucy's father said, with reference to her behavior: "We raised ten head of children, nine of them still living and every one of them was taught to stay their distance from white folks, but to give them all their respect. If Autherine has changed from this, she didn't get her new ideas from home."

The boycott of buses in Montgomery, which began as a spontaneous mass movement against discrimination and segregation, has revealed how deep and how widespread is the new spirit. Despite violence and threats of violence the Negro continues his fight to exercise the right to vote. Negro college students are for the first time showing a militant spirit in regard to segregation and discrimination. The autocratic administrations of Negro colleges, especially state schools, have taught humility and acceptance of existing racial patterns; as a consequence, their graduates have been on the whole apathetic toward the race problem. Therefore, Negroes as well as the white controllers of Negro education were startled when the students at the South Carolina State College for Negroes went on strike because state officials threatened to investigate the affiliations of the faculty and student body with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The leader of the students was expelled and the students went back to classes under threat from the Negro administration; they refused, nevertheless, to eat bread supplied from a bakery owned by a member of the White Citizens Council. More recently, at the State College for Negroes in Tallahassee, Florida, the students struck against the bus company after two female students were arrested for defying segregation regulations.

WHATEVER may have been the real feelings of Miss Lucy's father, his statement contains a significant observation—namely, that she did not acquire her new ideas at home. The new spirit of the Southern Negroes is a radical break from the traditional pattern of race relations. The old pattern had its roots in a rural society, and, just as the emergence of the New Negro in the North was due to the flight of the Negro from feudal America, so the emergence of the New Negro in the South is primarily the result of the movement of Negroes to cities.

The urbanization of southern Negroes has resulted, first, in a marked change in their occupations. At present, only about a third of the Negroes in the South gain their living from agriculture. Negro workers have not been assimilated into manufacturing, trade and service industries to the same extent as white workers; and many Negroes who have migrated to the southern cities have been forced to move a second time and seek a living outside the South. Nevertheless, because of conditions in southern agriculture, Negroes continue to move into southern cities and those who find work get a new outlook on life as industrial workers. Although Negroes are still kept, on the whole, to unskilled occupations, they receive much higher wages in industry than they did from agriculture. In 1949 the median income of urban Negro workers was twice that of Negro farmers, including owners, renters and laborers, and today the median income of urban Negroes is between three and four times that of rural Negroes. Moreover, although the median income of Negro families in southern cities is only 56 per cent that of white families, this represents an increase during the past six or seven years.

This improvement in the Negro's economic status has had several important effects upon his conception of himself and of his position in the South. He has a greater sense of security and he is in a better position to contribute money to the fight for equality in American life.

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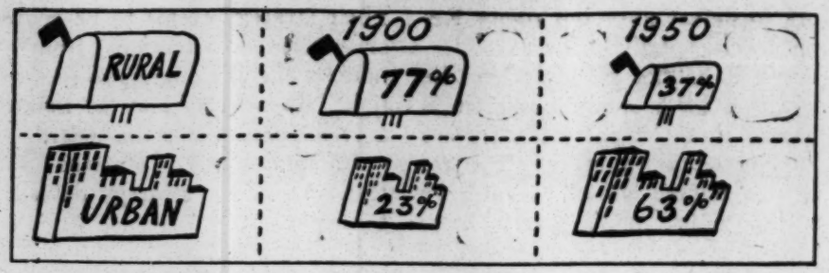
Drift of Negroes to the Cities



Figures refer to percentage of total U.S. Negro population. Source: U.S. Bureau of Census.

This shows, for example, in the tremendous growth of NAACP membership in the South. The Negro can now buy those things—radios, televisions, newspapers and magazines—which symbolize a middle-class standard of living and are indicative of his new orientation to the world. The Negro middle class in the South has grown considerably, due largely to the increase in the number of Negro teachers and other professional and white collar workers as well as skilled workers.

The social consequences of urbanization, even more than the economic, helped to bring about profound changes in the Negro's attitude towards his place in southern society. First among these social consequences has been the improvement in his educational facilities. Undoubtedly the Supreme Court desegregation decisions were responsible for some of the recent improvements. But this development was already under way before the decisions, notably during the period of rapid industrialization of the South between 1940 and 1952 when the region's per capita income increased over 200 per cent. The improvement in Negro education was reflected in the reduction of the disparity between the per capita expenditure for the instruction of white and Negro children; in the increase in school attendance at all levels, especially at the secondary level; in the equalization of Negro and white teachers' salaries (except in Mississippi and South Carolina), and in new buildings and other facilities for Negroes.

The influence of formal education in bringing about a new spirit among southern Negroes is only one of a number of factors which have been breaking down their social and mental isolation. In the larger southern cities, relations between whites and Negroes have necessarily undergone changes. For example, in the country store or small-town bank, the Negro is generally expected to observe the "etiquette of race relations" and wait until white people are served. But in the large-city chain stores the customer, who has no status because of race, takes his turn in line. One of the reasons for the present racial tensions in regard to transportation in southern cities is that there is an attempt to maintain a caste relationship in an area of social relations that has become highly mobile and secular.

The effect of mere physical mobility upon Negro attitudes should not be overlooked. Thousands of southern Negroes, rural as well as urban, are moving about the country more than at any time in their history. They see Negroes occupying positions and enjoying rights which were undreamed of a few decades ago. Moreover, they themselves are treated with greater respect when they leave the South. This physical mobility has been increased by the military draft. But military service has done more; it has given the Negro a new conception of his role and his rights as an American citizen. This effect is heightened when the Negro serves in an "integrated" army unit. Men with military experience have often taken the lead in demanding the Negro's right to the ballot. It is perhaps not an accident that the recognized leader of the bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama, is a minister who served in the armed forces.

Thus the appearance of a New Negro in the South is due primarily to the breakdown of the social and mental isolation in which the Negro people have lived. In a short story which appeared during the Negro renaissance in Harlem, Rudolph Fisher portrayed the astonishment of a Negro migrant from the South who could hardly believe his eyes when he saw a Negro policeman. There are few southern Negroes today who would be astonished at the sight. If they have not seen a Negro policeman in the South, they have become accustomed to seeing him on the screen or on television. Again, the increasing literacy of southern Negroes, resulting from their better education, furnishes another escape from their former mental isolation. Now they can read newspapers and magazines—especially the Negro publications, most of which are located outside the South. These publications constantly play up the Negro's fight for equality, the victories which he has won and the achievements of Negroes everywhere.

THE NEW conception which the southern Negro is acquiring of himself and his place in American life as the result of urbanization is being fostered by the dominant forces in our changing society. Although the growth of labor unions in the South has been retarded by the racial situation, Negro workers are acquiring a new grasp of their relationship to industry through the efforts of the more progressive unions. The present battle for civil rights, which has a special meaning for southern Negroes, is giving his own battle for equality a new orientation. Moreover, southern Negroes are becoming aware of the struggle of the colored colonial peoples for self-determination and the leaders, at least, are to some extent identifying their own struggle with the larger one.

This new awareness of the social and economic forces in American life as well as in the world at large is the mark of the New Negro in the South. And the attitude of the New Negro is perhaps best expressed in the response of a Negro farmer in South Carolina who had been subjected to economic pressure: "We don't scare any more."

3. Young Jim Crow . . C. VANN WOODWARD

"OH, these grand, immutable, all-wise laws of natural forces," wrote Andrew Carnegie in 1886, "how perfectly they work if human legislators would only let them alone!"

For a long time this has been the classic appeal of those who want to be left alone by meddling law makers and courts. Defenders of segregation, like defenders of the status quo in other fields, have appealed to laissez-faire doctrine according to Herbert Spencer in their fight against innovation and reform. Leave everything to "natural forces," they argue, and all will be well.

Segregationists have supplemented the Spencerian argument with the doctrines of William Graham Sumner, the Yale sociologist, and his *Folkways,* published in 1907. It was Sumner's teaching that "stateways cannot change folkways" and that "legislation cannot make mores." These folkways of Sumner bore a family resemblance to the natural forces of Spencer. They were the product of "natural" as against "artificial" causes and shared some of the irresistible nature of biological imperatives. Such imperatives, the nineteenth century had been taught to believe, were not to be regarded lightly. Good Darwinians held them to be the secret of survival and progress. Sumner described his folkways as "uniform, universal in the group, imperative and invariable." In addition they had the prestige of being very old, very durable, and of somewhat mysterious origin.

In their reliance upon the Spencerian and the Sumnerian imperatives, however, segregationists have involved themselves in some unacknowledged inconsistencies and contradictions. In the first place, in defiance of Spencer's principles, they have repeatedly resorted to legislation to interfere with and change the racial status quo. Indeed, they have cited Spencer and Sumner on the utter futility of legislation in support of an elaborate program of legislation to alter racial relations. In the second place, scarcely any of the adjectives that Sumner used to characterize his folkways can be accurately applied to the segregation code. Segregation practices have not only been changed but created by "stateways." They can be described neither as uniform nor as invariable, for they have varied widely both in place and time. There is nothing very mysterious about their origin. And, finally, they are not nearly so old as has been generally assumed.

Segregation is a relatively recent phase in the long history of the white man's ways of controlling the Negro and fixing his status, his "place." There have been other and harsher phases, including bondage and limited servitude. Slavery, peonage and abortive types of apprenticeship have had their day. Exploitation of the Negro by the white man goes back to the beginning of relations between the races, and so do race conflict, brutality and injustice, mitigated in some degree by various types of paternalism. Along with these practices there developed the old assumptions of Anglo-Saxon superiority and African inferiority, white supremacy and Negro subordination.

IT IS perfectly true, therefore, that some of the unhappy aspects of race relations in America have a remote origin and a long history. But this cannot be said of the segregation code of the present day. The physical separation of the races by law would have been inconvenient, not to say impracticable, under the slave system. The supervision, care, exploitation and policing of slaves on the plantation necessitated many close contacts and accustomed the races to a degree of intimacy that outlasted slavery itself.

It is a mistake to assume that segregation followed hard upon emancipation. The number of contacts between races diminished as the freedmen threw off old restraints. The withdrawal of the Negroes from the great Protestant churches and the establishment of independent organizations of their own were steps essential to their cultural freedom. The result was segregation in the religious community. The principle of separation of the races in public schools was entrenched during Reconstruction, and segregation in the military services, an old practice, was simply continued. Segregation in church, school and military was therefore a product of Reconstruction or earlier periods.

After Reconstruction was overthrown, the South retained such segregation practices as had already been established, but showed no immediate disposition to expand the code into other fields. Nearly a generation was to pass before segregation became the harsh, rigid and universal system that emerged in the twentieth century.

There were several reasons for this. In the first place, the Negroes had not yet crowded into the cities in large numbers and the racial tensions of urban and industrial life had not yet taken the form of a powerful demand for Jim Crowism. Even when the demand did arise there were practical difficulties. It was expensive to provide separate facilities—however unequal—in trains, stations, streetcars and factories, in public buildings, parks, playgrounds and institutions. Taxpayers as well as private enterprise showed a natural resistance to the outlay involved. The Negroes themselves could offer some resistance, for until the end of the nineteenth century they continued to vote in large numbers in most of the Southern states.

More important still as a source of resistance to extreme racism was the conservative philosophy of the Southern rulers who took charge after the overthrow of Reconstruction and dominated the South for two decades. They professed an attitude of aristocratic paternalism toward the Negro. The conservative thought of himself as standing midway between the doctrinaire Northern Negrophile of the Left and the fanatical Southern Negrophobe of

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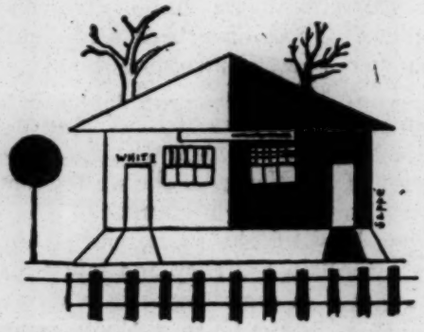
C. VANN WOODWARD, professor of American history at Johns Hopkins University, is the author of THE STRANGE CAREER OF JIM CROW *and other books on the South.*

the Right, both of whom he pictured as enemies of the freedmen's true interests. He believed that the Negro belonged in a subordinate role, but denied that subordinates had to be ostracized; he thought that the Negro belonged to an inferior race, but denied that inferiors had to be segregated or publicly humiliated. Conservative politicians needed Negro votes to maintain their governments.

SO LONG as the conservative truce prevailed and resistance continued in other quarters, Jim Crowism remained under control. Testimony of Northern reformers, foreign investigators, Southern writers and Negroes themselves agree that through the seventies and eighties and up into the nineties the Negro enjoyed a degree of freedom from segregation that he was not to enjoy in the twentieth-century South. This freedom lasted longer in the old seaboard South than in the western South. In 1885, a Negro newspaperman from Boston reported to his paper that he had traveled by train "through Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia and into Florida, all the old slave States with enormous Negro populations" and that in all of them he found "a first-class ticket is good in a first-class coach." From Columbia, South Carolina, he wrote: "I feel about as safe here as in Providence, R. I. I can ride in first-class cars on the railroads and in the streets. I can go into saloons and get refreshments even as in New York. I can stop in and drink a glass of soda and be more politely served than in some parts of New England."

Conditions in Columbia were not the rule in the South, nor are they represented as typical. But the fact that they prevailed in South Carolina provides an instructive contrast with what was to come later. South Carolina was one of the last Southern states to capitulate to the movement for segregation laws. In 1897, the Charleston *News and Courier,* which calls itself the oldest paper in the South, voiced strong opposition to a proposed Jim Crow law for trains. "Our opinion is that we have no more need for a Jim Crow system this year than we had last year, and a great deal less than we had twenty and thirty years ago." Such a law was "unnecessary and uncalled for" and "a needless affront to our respectable and well behaved colored people." The following year, 1898, the same paper ridiculed the proposal for a Jim Crow law for trains on the grounds that it would be just as logical to apply the same principle to streetcars, waiting rooms, passenger-boats, and all public accommodations, services and conveniences.

The segregation movement had already made some gains in the nineties, but the big turning point that marked the capitulation to extreme racism did not come till toward the end of the nineteenth century. The way was cleared for the extremists by a complex of events. A severe depression raised a demand for scapegoats and precipitated a political crisis. To divert the wrath of the Populist revolt, the conservatives abandoned their stand for moderation in race policy and lifted the cry of Negro domination and white supremacy. The Populists deserted their Negro allies, blamed them for the downfall of Populism and joined the white supremacy crusade. The Supreme Court of the United States removed the last constitutional obstacles to segregation in 1896 by the *Plessy vs. Ferguson* decision and endorsed the disfranchisement of the Negro in 1898 by the *Williams vs. Mississippi* decision. Within a decade the Negroes had been effectively and thoroughly deprived of the ballot throughout the Southern states.



In the meantime the country embarked in 1898 on imperialistic adventures that brought more than eight million people of color under American rule without their consent. These acquisitions and the problems of ruling them gave the North and West a new and much more sympathetic view of the aggressive race policy of the South. Imperialism did much to lower northern resistance to southern racism.

IT WAS only after the turn of the century that the great proliferation of Jim Crow laws took place. Up to 1900 the only law of this type adopted by the majority of Southern states was that applying to railway trains. South Carolina did not adopt that until 1898, North Carolina until 1899 and Virginia until 1900. Only three states had required or authorized separate waiting rooms in railway stations before 1899, but in the next decade nearly all the remaining states of the South fell into line. Laws applying to new fields tended to spread in waves of popularity. Only Georgia had a segregation law applying to street cars before the end of the century. Then in quick succession North Carolina and Virginia adopted such a law in 1901, Louisiana in 1902, Arkansas, South Carolina and Tennessee in 1903, Mississippi and Maryland in 1904, Florida in 1905 and Oklahoma in 1907. Montgomery, Alabama, in 1906 earned the distinction of requiring the first completely separate Jim Crow streetcar.

The mushrooming growth of segregation laws during the first two decades of the present century piled up the huge bulk of existing legislation on the subject. Much of the code was contributed by city ordinances or local rules and customs enforced without the formality of laws. The little painted signs "White" or "Colored" appeared with increasing regularity over entrances and exits, toilets and drinking fountains, waiting rooms and ticket windows. The Jim Crow code was applied in sports and recreations, in public parks and cemeteries, in hospitals and prisons. Everywhere it appeared, the principle of segregation was defended as "inevitable" and as having the sanction of ancient and immemorial usage.

The fact is that many of those who are presently defending the Jim Crow laws as ancient and immemorial folkways are older than the laws they are defending.

4. Politics and the Negro . . HENRY LEE MOON

AT THE heart of the continuing crisis in democracy in the South is the Negro. Students of the peculiar politics of the region agree that the presence of the Negro in the South conditions every political expression and every political maneuver originating in that area.

V. O. Key, in his authoritative volume *Southern Politics in State and Nation,* observes that politics in the South "in its grand outlines . . . revolves around the position of the Negro. It is at times interpreted as a politics of cotton, as a politics of free trade, as a politics of agrarian poverty, or as a politics of planter and plutocrat. Although such interpretations have a superficial validity, in the last analysis the major peculiarities of southern politics go back to the Negro."

In its long effort to keep the Negro in his place, the South has undertaken a debilitating and futile task. The key to the southern scheme of white supremacy is the disfranchisement of the Negro. Not until the Negro had been deprived of an effective vote, following the collapse of Reconstruction, was the Jim Crow system consolidated and codified into law. As long as the Negro could not vote, Jim Crow seemed secure and unassailable. The discriminatory system was seriously threatened only after the southern Negro again emerged as a positive political factor following the United States Supreme Court decision of 1944 which banned the Democratic white primary.

Now Negroes, under the leadership and guidance of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, were in a position to launch an all-out attack upon segregation. The tax-supported universities of the South were opened. Judicial enforcement of residential segregation was banned. The Jim Crow coach in interstate travel was derailed. The segregated public-school system was outlawed. Public parks and recreational facilities for the exclusive use of white persons were ordered opened to all. The color-caste system in the Armed Forces was abandoned.

These developments stem not alone from the return of the Negro vote in the South which, though still small and restricted, has on occasion proved effective. More important has been the expanded Negro vote in the large industrial states of the North and West. Other vital factors have been the rising economic and cultural status of the Negro, the impact of world events upon America's role as leader of the Free World, and the growing realization in the nation at large that our country can no more remain half-integrated and half-segregated now than it could survive half-free and half-slave a century ago.

ACCURATE figures on the size of the Negro vote in the South (as well as elsewhere in the nation) are difficult to secure. Only Florida and Louisiana keep statewide records of registered voters by race. In Alabama, Donald S. Strong, professor of political science at the state university, reports in his recent study, *Registration of Voters in Alabama*: "There is no official record of the statewide total of registered voters, white or black. The secretary of state cannot supply these figures." What is true in Alabama is largely true throughout the region.

In an earlier study, *Southern Primaries and Elections, 1920-1949,* Strong and Alexander Heard found that "some two-fifths of the returns for the two most important offices in the South [Governor and U.S. Senator] were not available." Even less available are authentic figures on Negro registration and voting.

A compilation by the NAACP in 1952, based on reports from field representatives, newspaper clippings, local and state studies, indicated a total of 1,200,000 Negroes registered in thirteen southern states as follows:

State	Number Registered
Alabama	30,000
Arkansas	60,000
Florida	120,900
Georgia	146,200
Louisiana	120,000
Mississippi	23,000
North Carolina	100,000
Oklahoma	55,000
South Carolina	110,000
Tennessee	135,000
Texas	205,000
Virginia	70,000
West Virginia	35,000
Total	1,200,100

The number who actually vote in any given election is an even more elusive figure. Some fail to pay the poll tax still required in four states, some may be intimidated and some, like other American voters, neglect to vote either through apathy or a sense of futility. In all of these states except Mississippi there are indications of an increased Negro vote since 1952. Strong, in his Alabama study, gives 55,000 as "the best estimate of the number of registered Negroes" in that state in 1955. Official figures from Louisiana report 156,000 Negroes registered to vote in the gubernatorial election of 1956. In Florida the number was up from 120,900 four years ago to 140,242, and in Arkansas there has been a 50 per cent increase up to 90,000. South Carolina reports 135,000, Texas, 225,000, and Virginia, 84,000.

Systematic intimidation, threats, economic pressures and assassinations amounting to a reign of terror reduced the Negro vote in Mississippi from 23,000 in 1952 to approximately 8,000 in 1955. Similar, but less harsh, purges have been attempted in Louisiana and Georgia.

THE REVIVAL of Negro voting in the South has stimulated the return of the Negro as candidate for elective office, which in turn is a stimulus to registration and voting by Negro citizens. At least a dozen cities of the South have Negroes serving in the city councils or other governing bodies. Others have Negroes elected to local boards of education. In many instances colored

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HENRY LEE MOON is the author of BALANCE OF POWER: THE NEGRO VOTE *and numerous magazine articles on the status of the Negro in the United States.*

candidates have been elected with the aid of white voters. This was notably true of the election of Dr. Rufus E. Clement, president of Atlanta University, to the Board of Education in a city-wide contest in Atlanta, Georgia, in May, 1953.

No Negro, however, has sat in a state legislature in any southern state for more than half-a-century. Only the border states of Missouri, Kentucky, West Virginia and Maryland have had Negro legislators in recent years. Elsewhere in the South the legislatures have remained lily-white. Not since the dawn of the twentieth century has a Negro represented any southern district in Congress.

BY AND large the new Negro voters in the South have realistically registered Democratic, since the primaries of this party are generally the only significant elections in most areas of the region. This does not mean that they endorse in any measure the primitive racial attitudes of the region's dominant party. In Alabama, Negro Democrats have to mark their ballots under a party emblem bearing the slogan "White Supremacy." For the present, in local and state elections at any rate, the alternative is self-disfranchisement.

Addressing the State Democratic Executive Committee of Georgia on May 29 of this year, Governor Marvin Griffin reminded the national Democratic Party that the "nine segregated states" were the only states the party carried in 1952. "If it had not been for we segregated folks, you would not have carried a single state last time," the Governor is quoted as warning the party.

In making this statement the Governor gratuitously overlooked the fact that had it not been for the Negro vote in five of these nine states, Governor Adlai Stevenson would have carried only four. The table on this page indicates the vote in these five states.

The indicated number of registered Negro voters in the table does not mean that all of these citizens voted or that all of those who did vote cast their ballot for the Democratic nominee. However, a survey of forty-seven cities, made by the NAACP following the 1952 election, reveals that better than 70 per cent of the Negro vote went to Governor Stevenson. According to the survey, the Democratic vote in Negro districts in the South averaged higher than that in colored districts throughout the nation.

This situation presents to the national Democratic Party a real challenge and one which the leaders, mesmerized by the chimera of party unity, seem loathe to take up. It should be obvious that the Democrats cannot build a national party upon the obsolete ideology of white supremacy, a doctrine incompatible not only with modern-day Americanism but with world trends. The party leaders are faced with an inescapable dilemma. Sooner or later they must decide whether they want to be a national party speaking for universal democratic ideals or to return to regional provincialism representing only the most backward elements of the nation. The opportunity to unload the burden of racial bigotry has twice been presented to the national party and twice, in vain pursuit of an illusory party unity, the leaders have refused to make the decision. The walk-out of the disgruntled Dixiecrats in 1948 and their support of the GOP in 1952 offered golden opportunities for reforming the party. There are in the South elements, white as well as Negro, upon which to rebuild a meaningful Democratic Party meeting the needs of the masses of people of both races in that region and in the nation.

For the immediate future, there may be certain risks in this realignment. But in the long run, the political isolation of the racial bigots would be achieved and the development of a really democratic party in the South would be possible. Further, such a course would provide opportunity for the rehabilitation of the Republican Party in that region.

When one recalls that the Solid South has been decisive in a Presidential election only once in this century, even the immediate risks do not seem formidable. Only Woodrow Wilson, in 1916, needed the Solid South to assure him of election. Harry S. Truman was able to win in 1948 despite the defection of Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina. History provides a lesson which the leaders of the national Democratic Party appear reluctant to study. Instead, they permit themselves to be intimidated by the threats and bluster of demagogues.

THE desegregation issue has made clear the need for widescale expansion of the Negro vote not only in the South but throughout the nation. The futile efforts to keep this issue out of politics were foredoomed to failure. Neither the defiant white supremacists who are prepared to wreck the country in a desperate effort to hold on to a decaying pattern of race relations, nor the organized Negroes and the liberal whites who insist upon implementation of the Supreme Court's decree "with all deliberate speed" would, or could, forego the use of political instruments in pursuit of their goal. The racial bigots are determined to work for the election of candidates who will join them in their obstructive tactics. The people who believe in constitutional government are equally committed to the election of candidates who will not equivocate on the issue of upholding the Constitution.

The question of racial segregation in public education and in other phases of American life affects profoundly the lives and the status of sixteen millions of Negro Americans and several times that number of whites. It is related intimately to the continuing task of fashioning a

Negroes Saved Five States for Democrats in 1952

State	Total Vote for Eisenhower	Total Vote for Stevenson	Stevenson's Margin	Registered Negro Vote
Arkansas	177,155	226,300	49,145	60,000
Kentucky	495,029	495,729	700	100,000
Louisiana	306,925	345,027	38,102	120,000
South Carolina	168,100	173,000	4,900	110,000
West Virginia	419,970	453,580	33,610	70,000

working democratic society in accordance with the principles laid down in the founding documents of the American Republic. It has become, inevitably, one of the major domestic issues in American politics and bids fair to have important bearing on the choice of a President and on the election of a majority party in the next Congress.

On the southern front the NAACP is stressing the need for electing local officials who will not sabotage the Supreme Court's ruling. Under the decree of May 31, 1955, it appears that the ultimate responsibility for compliance lies with local school boards. Members of these boards are public officials either elected by the people or appointed by officials so elected. In many of the recalcitrant school districts, Negroes form a substantial, and in some instances a majority, element in the population. It is in these districts, however, that the Negro vote is generally the weakest.

The vote for the Gray Commission's plan to evade the Court's ruling in Virginia was heaviest in the black-belt counties where the Negro population is most dense. The task is to enlarge the Negro vote in these districts with a view to giving colored citizens an effective voice in determining the composition of the local school boards. In Prince Edward County, Virginia, where one of the school-segregation cases originated, Negroes are in the majority. The vote for the Gray Commission's segregation plan in the county was 2,835 to 350. Obviously, enfranchised Negroes could have reversed the outcome of that referendum in Prince Edward County.

Disproportionate Voting Power of the South
— Congressional Elections 1952 —

Section	Votes Cast	Representatives Elected	Votes Per Representative
South	6,706,798	92	72,900
Border States	5,845,342	53	110,289
Far West	8,389,773	57	147,189
Middle West	18,451,470	117	157,705
North East and Middle Atlantic .	18,177,000	113	160,861

CURTAILMENT of the Negro vote has given southern reaction bloated representation and power in the Congress of the United States. Although there are a few notable exceptions, these spokesmen for the South generally obstruct civil-rights measures and oppose social welfare and labor legislation. On the issue of civil rights, even the so-called liberals among them run for cover and make obeisance to white supremacy and racial segregation. Due to the one-party system which stems directly from the disfranchisement of the Negro, southern politicians are returned to Washington election after election and succeed, on the basis of seniority, to the chairmanships of important committees whenever there is a Democratic majority.

Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi is by no means the only reactionary Southerner to profit from this archaic system. He is merely the most notorious. In the House, Southerners are chairmen of twelve of the nineteen standing committees, including Rules, Ways and Means, Education and Labor, and Armed Services. Of the fifteen standing committees of the Senate, nine are chaired by Southerners, including the Judiciary (over which Senator Eastland presides), Armed Services, Finance, Foreign Relations, Labor and Public Welfare, and Government Operations. Most of these committee chairmen in both the House and the Senate would not be in Congress at all if all the people of their respective districts and states were freely permitted to vote.

Ironically, the Dixiecrats owe their chairmanships not only to their seniority and the disfranchisement of the Negroes in their constituencies, but also to northern Negroes whose vote has contributed substantially to Democratic majorities in congressional elections. This anomalous situation persisted through the Roosevelt and Truman regimes and down to 1954. The seeming complacency of Negro voters found some justification in the failure of the Republicans to take any positive legislative action on civil rights. The enthronement of Senator Eastland, however, aroused great resentment among Negro voters and shocked them into a realization of their own role in the complex of political routines which placed the Mississippi Senator in a strategic position to sabotage civil-rights bills.

As of the end of June, there are indications that many northern Negroes who have previously voted for Democratic candidates are now seriously considering reverting to the traditional party of their fathers—the Republican. At this time it would be rash to speculate on how extensive this switch may be or what it may portend for the future. This observer does not now believe that the Republicans in 1956 will carry a majority of the northern Negro vote. He does believe that the Republican percentage of that vote will be measurably increased. Much depends upon what happens between now and November, who the candidates are, what the party platforms pledge and the fate of pending civil-rights legislation in Congress.

A *Congressional Quarterly* fact sheet indicates that there are sixty-one congressional districts outside of the South in which the Negro potentially holds a balance of power.

In the Senate, two Democratic incumbents who won their elections in 1950 by less than a 4 per cent margin face stiff opposition in the election this year. Both of these Senators, Thomas C. Hennings, Jr., of Missouri and Herbert H. Lehman of New York, have enjoyed and deserved, on the basis of their individual records, wide support among Negro voters. In 1950, the potential Negro vote in Missouri was 7.5 per cent of the total and in New York 6.9 per cent. In either state, a measurable shift of Negro voters could prove disastrous to the Democratic candidates.

The Jim Crow system has distorted the politics of the nation. It

has vested disproportionate legislative power in control of the most backward elements of the country. It has enabled a provincial minority to thwart the will of the majority. It has provided grist for the propaganda mills of our enemies abroad, causing endless embarrassment to the nation in international affairs.

Despite its past power and its present desperation, the days of Jim Crow are numbered. The Negro is pressing the attack in the South and throughout the nation. His political power is greater and his allies more numerous and forthright than in earlier years. White Southerners still repeat their ancient allegation that Negroes are content with the Jim Crow system, but events at Montgomery, Alabama, and elsewhere in the region eloquently refute this false claim. Although outward migration will continue, Negroes will remain a substantial element in the southern population and will, in the forseeable future, emerge from the shadow of Jim Crow and enjoy all of their constitutional rights as American citizens.

5. Labor and the South . . .

M. H. ROSS

DESPITE some hesitancy and confusion in union ranks, there is a likelihood that before the year is out organized labor will have another Southern drive under way. The very fact that union leaders are considering the completion of labor's largest unfinished job is itself encouraging in view of current jurisdictional problems, widespread disaffection among white union members in some areas and past lack of success in winning large groups of Southern workers in key industries.

An open-shop South today stands in surly defiance of the merged AFL-CIO. From labor's viewpoint, the recent anti-union offensive and secessionist tactics of the White Councils would seem to call for organization of the South as a matter of self-defense. Figures just released by the National Bureau of Economic Research show that fewer than 10 per cent of all non-agricultural workers in North and South Carolina are unionized, compared with some 40 per cent in Illinois, Indiana and Missouri. The united labor movement cannot permit the continued watering down of its national influence and authority by a South less than 20 per cent organized.

Immediate objectives of the drive, as announced, indicate specific aims, such as the Burlington Mills chain in textiles and R. J. Reynolds in tobacco. Every attempt at centralized control of the campaign, with accompanying fanfares of publicity, will be deliberately avoided; the unions do not want to give the impression that they are "invading" the South. But the fact that the campaign will be planned on a nation-wide basis, by industries, should not detract from the total impact the separate efforts could have in the South.

A sustained campaign could, if successful, double present Southern union membership, adding almost two million workers—mainly in textile, chemical, lumber, clothing, paper, oil and gas, furniture, teamsters and metal products.

Hard-fisted reality, far more than idealistic concern for Negro rights, is influencing conservative trade-union leaders in favor of the drive. The objective factors requiring organization of the South today are almost as compelling as those which put industrial unionism on the agenda of the mid-1930s:

First, an unorganized South is a danger to union standards and to organized membership in the rest of the nation. The menace of runaway plants looms over every bargaining session in the North. Economic gains are often stymied because of low-wage competition. The increasing proportion of new-plant investment going South endangers the future growth of a national labor movement.

Second, certain key unions cannot attain their full potential growth. A textile union which should rate in the million-member class, along with auto, steel and teamsters, remains stunted. Without the heart of the industry in the South, its situation is as frustrating as if the auto union tried to function without Detroit.

Third, the unbridled Dixiecrat

power in the Democratic Party and in Congress is becoming increasingly unbearable to the spokesmen of organized labor.

Fourth, responsible labor leaders know that the target area hit by racist attack is not limited to the Negro. White Council objectives, according to former Governor McMath of Arkansas, include "the destruction of labor unions in the South." Textile union officials who have suffered extreme personal abuse in organizing campaigns are fully aware of this revived Ku-Kluxism which moves from Negro to labor unionist to Jew, Catholic and foreign-born. The recent textile convention, representing workers in an almost all-white industry, was united in regarding the White Councils as union-busters and scab-herders even though there were differences in approach to the school-desegregation problem.

Fifth, the drive will get employer

M. H. ROSS, a union official in the South for many years and former editor of the North Carolina Law Review, has written extensively on Southern labor.

The Quartetto Italiano's extraordinary tone, phrasing and ensemble are heard in two of Haydn's finest quartets, Op. 33 No. 3 (*Bird*) and Op. 76 No. 4 (*Sunrise*) on Angel 35297. The group plays Haydn less robustly than the Schneider Quartet, but with sufficient energy; the performances of these two works are better paced than the Schneider's; and Op. 33 No. 3 comes off with more humor. The excessive sharpness of the recorded sound is remedied by reduction of treble.

Angel 35303 places me once more in the embarrassing position of having to disagree with Mozart on the merits of his Quintet K.452 for piano and winds, which he considered one of his best pieces and I still do not. Those who agree with him will want to know that the wind parts are played with marvelous beauty of tone and phrasing by the Philharmonia Wind Quartet (the first oboe, clarinet, horn and bassoon of the London Philharmonia Orchestra), but that Gieseking's piano-playing is in his pallid, lifeless miniature Mozart style. It comes to life, however, in Beethoven's Quintet Op. 16, one of the least interesting of his early imitative pieces.

Another early work of more consequence, the Septet Op. 20 for clarinet, horn, bassoon and strings, is played excellently by members of the Vienna Octet on London LL-1191. In addition to this chamber-group-style performance there is Toscanini's enchantingly and excitingly phrased performance with a larger number of strings on Victor LM-1745.

TWO of Bach's deadly dull Suites for unaccompanied cello, Nos. 2 and 5, are played by the Russian cellist Rostropovitch on Vanguard 6026. Casals made his playing of this music exciting with the inflections of his powerful tone that created the tensions and distentions of his impassioned sustained phrasing; but as against his hair-raising performance of the Sarabande of No. 2, for example, Rostropovitch offers only a playing of the notes one after another with unattractively dry tone and without any inflection differentiating and relating them in groups.

The six Sonatas for violin and continuo by Jean-Marie Leclair the Elder that are played on Oiseau-Lyre 50087/8 by George Alès and the harpsichordist Isabelle Nef are superb works, in which the slow movements are especially fine. Alès' tone isn't pleasant, but is improved by reduction of treble; and his playing is otherwise good.

Epic LC-3227 offers one of Franck's better works, his String Quartet, characteristic in its writing that is often exquisitely wrought but repetitious. It is played well by the Lowenguth Quartet, except for the coarse tone of the first violin, which can be improved by reduction of treble.

PRESSURE of other matters has delayed this comment on one of the Concert Society of New York's chamber music concerts—a sonata recital by two outstanding ensemble musicians, the violinist Szymon Goldberg (best known perhaps for those incandescent recorded performances of Mozart sonatas with Lili Kraus) and the pianist Artur Balsam. They played several fine works—Bach's Sonata in E, Handel's in D, Mozart's K.378 and 526—and operated with the most satisfying musical skill and taste until Mozart's K.526, in which their phrasing turned fussy and finicky, with particularly damaging effect to the wonderful sustained flow of the Andante movement.

Something else which calls for comment is the technical and musical mastery one heard at Leonard Shure's piano recital, producing the detail that was so completely achieved, so coherently articulated and organized in the performance of Beethoven's Sonata Op. 109. Shure followed this with an effective statement of Schubert's posthumous Sonata in C minor; but Chopin's Sonata Op. 35 was, for me, distorted by the usual exaggerated rubato.

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THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

Enforce the Constitution . . *CAREY McWILLIAMS*

IN THIS year's election voters have an extraordinary opportunity to set the stage for the full, final emancipation of the southern Negro. The basic fault or weakness in the American Constitutional scheme of things has always been the disenfranchisement of a substantial part of the population in this one region. Initially the denial of equal citizenship reflected the federal character of the government established by the Constitution. The adoption of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments—the Civil War amendments—was intended to correct this structural weakness, but the amendments were largely nullified, of course, by judicial interpretation. Now a new combination of circumstances has established the necessary pre-conditions for final settlement of a problem which has been the major burden on the American conscience for longer than anyone cares to remember. The purpose of this special issue of *The Nation* is to sharpen public awareness of the opportunity that exists for effective political action on this one major problem in what otherwise promises to be a dull campaign.

The South has experienced a century of social change in a generation; an industrial revolution has been succeeded by a social revolution which, in turn, has precipitated a political or Constitutional crisis. It is this political crisis which has created the opportunity for some effective politics.

The immediate issue relates to desegregation. But desegregation is merely the cutting edge of the Jim Crow question. By Jim Crow is meant, of course, all legally sanctioned discriminations based on racial differences. In the aggregate these discriminations constitute a social system, a means by which state power is used to maintain the supremacy of one race over another. The Jim Crow system has, of course, some important incidental consequences. It is a means by which both white and Negro labor in the South is kept unorganized and under-paid. It is also a device by which the South, as a region, has been preserved as a bastion of reaction. The unity of the so-called Solid South is largely emotional and historical; it is held together more by the Jim Crow system than by similarity of resources or conditions. But the basic purpose of Jim Crow has always been to maintain the subordination of the southern Negro and disenfranchisement is the key to this system of social control.

It is absurd, therefore, to suggest that the issue of Jim Crow, of which desegregation is merely one phase, can be "kept out of politics"; it is basically a political problem. "What effect," asks Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, "does the disfranchisement of Negroes have on democracy in the United States? This is a question of national importance. It does not rest on sectional jealousy or bitter memories of the Civil War. It is not a question of race prejudice or of love or hate for Negroes. It is a practical question of democratic government. . . . Any section or state which counts the Negro population as a basis for its representation in Congress, but then does not allow citizens to vote, not only degrades Negroes but takes from other parts of the nation power which belongs to them. *It transfers this power to the disfranchising section.*" (Emphasis added.) Since the adoption of the Civil War amendments, each of which gives Congress the power to enforce it by appropriate legislation, the way has been clear to end a political racket the effect of which is to give white ballots in certain southern states about six times the power of ballots cast in other regions.

The reason that disenfranchisement has gone uncorrected since the Civil War is that Jim Crow has prevented the development of a genuine two-party system. The powerful coalition of Dixiecrats and right-wing Republicans which Senator Taft put together in 1938 is only the most recent manifestation of a long-standing covert bipartisan agreement to preserve, for different reasons, the undemocratic system of representation that prevails in the South. This system could be undercut if the Constitution were enforced; the second section of

the Fourteenth Amendment is quite specific. Conservative Republicans have been no more anxious to upset the power of the Bourbon Democrats than northern Democrats who have been concerned with the recurrent fear of splitting the Democratic Party in a Presidential election; besides, the Republicans have not wanted to end a dilemma which has remained the chief weakness of the opposition from the Civil War to the present time. The basis of this understanding, however, has been undermined by the industrial and social revolution in the South. Thus it is no longer a question of whether Jim Crow should go—the weight of the underlying social factors has shifted permanently in favor of equal citizenship—but how rapidly, and how expeditiously, final emancipation can be realized. And this in turn depends on the extent to which voters in this year's election can be made aware of the pending demise of Jim Crow.

A strong national public opinion against racial discrimination exists today in the United States, but it is currently inhibited by a set of misconceptions. Removal of these misconceptions is the first task at hand. Never, for example, was the "plague-on-both-your-houses" interdiction more grotesquely misapplied than in the current attempt to equate the NAACP with the White Citizens' Councils and then to blame "these extreme groups" for the ferment which a long-delayed industrial revolution has inevitably produced in the South. If these are the extreme groups, asks Thurgood Marshall, then "who, pray, is in the middle? One group says let's violate the law. The other groups say, let's follow the law. Well, who's in-between?" The NAACP did not precipitate the revolution under way in the South; no one "agitated" the Negroes in Montgomery. Similarly it is folly to believe that the rest of the nation should follow the lead of "moderate white opinion" in the South. The Norfolk-Virginian *Pilot,* for example, concedes that "in this struggle most of the calm, thoughtful, moderate people of Virginia were squeezed out. Their influence has been minor, almost negligible." In a formal statement, the Division of Social Sciences at Howard University has pointed out: "All proposals of moderation and gradualism which constitute a cloak of defiance or obstruction of plans and programs of implementation of the Supreme Court decree must be exposed, condemned and repudiated."

Where fundamental human rights are involved, the middle ground necessarily vanishes. The Constitution is not a document to be accepted or rejected as each locality sees fit. It does not guarantee certain rights "in the future," as to one's grandchildren; Constitutional rights vest automatically. There is something cowardly about the suggestion that the Constitution should be "gradually" enforced by "moderate" means. The Dixiecrat Manifesto of March 12 stopped just short of being a revolutionary document; it came close to rejecting Constitutional authority. When, in an earlier "sociological decision," the Supreme Court invalidated the original Civil Rights Act, the South was full of high praise for the court; today it wants to "curb" it. In the view of so distinguished a legal scholar as Dr. Paul A. Freund, the current southern agitation against the court has in fact precipitated a crisis in the role of the Supreme Court as the authoritative voice of our highest law.

National opinion must also be induced to review the proposition that since some progress has been made in the elimination of Jim Crow, the South can be trusted to finish the task in its own time and manner. The fact is of course that the changes usually cited to support this contention have come about as a result of pressure and nothing else. As the social scientists at Harvard University point out in their statement:

> Pressure, world opinion, federal court decisions, relentless determination of Negroes and their white colleagues to create a semblance of democracy in the South —these have been the forces that have brought any

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and top-politician support from New England and other areas hurt by industrial migration. And it is not inconceivable that some wedge will be driven in employer ranks in the South, especially among national firms inclined to weigh carefully the costs and dangers of a long and bitter union campaign.

TEN YEARS ago, separate AFL and CIO organizing drives opened in the South. Despite high hopes, large staffs and much real effort, the main open-shop citadels were not captured. Although gains were made, a smaller proportion of textile workers is organized today than a decade ago.

In many ways Operation Dixie, starting in 1946, was foredoomed. Growing cold-war hysteria and repression were a perfect setting for anti-union campaigns. AFL and CIO rivalry and the internal CIO split caused confusion. Lack of a positive overall approach on race relations hampered the adoption of day-to-day tactics. Most of all, the full impact of Taft-Hartley came in the South and a united opposition, using clever new legal devices or open violence, brought the divided drives to a grinding halt.

Trends in Southern industrialization today, marked by newer-type industries and production, company mergers, more national firms under union contract elsewhere, increasing urbanization, accentuate and aggravate regional differentials and make the porkchop issues plainer to Southern workers. General Electric announced that its investments in Southern plants over the past decade exceeded $250 million. A 1954 Department of Labor wage survey in electric-lamp plants showed why: a Southern differential of more than 30c an hour. In 1955, the non-union G.E. plant at Goldsboro, North Carolina, had a minimum wage of 90 cents, while the lowest Southern union rate in the field was $1.30 per hour.

In more typical Southern industry, the differential is still greater. Sawmill workers averaged $1.09 an hour in January, 1956, less than one-half the rate for the same work in the West. Federal wage-hour law provisions are academic for some workers, since regional violations are widespread. In contrast, the fact that mine and steel unions have ended Southern differentials while packinghouse and others are well on the way, is not lost on Southern workers.

Even where wages are somewhat equalized, speedup and stretchout of the workload burden Southern workers. Senate testimony on textiles showed typical Carolina mill assignments to include about 50 per cent more looms per weaver than in New England (a McGraw-Hill publication attributes higher productivity per employee to "deep-rooted religious convictions," lack of ancient grudges and job hunger).

Substandard fringe benefits for Southern workers are common. In pensions, health and welfare, paid holidays, vacations and other non-wage increments, the past decade has actually seen some widening of regional differentials. The average salaried office secretary in Atlanta gets only half as many paid holidays as her counterpart in Boston. Workmen's compensation and unemployment insurance are almost uniformly lower in the South.

THE CREATION of a unified labor movement is a new asset in the projected drive, but even more significantly, it makes possible the utilization of greater Southern forces. Firm basic organization now exists in every industry and nearly every area. Bitter defeats disillusioned some workers, but toughened many more. The telephone and railroad strikes last year attest to this (see *The Nation*, June 26, 1955) and in a string of mill villages and small towns all over the South a core of union loyalists await their day of retribution.

Contrasting the median money income of Negro and white urban families.

Southern open-shop employers and anti-labor politicians, for all their display of assurance and bluster, are worried men. A Jim Crow system, seemingly impregnable only short years ago, is now rocked to its foundations. Can the shaky non-union structure of low wages and second-class conditions withstand union attack? Who will guarantee that the old cry of white supremacy or the old "mongrelization" bugaboo will again split the workers? The southern Negro has developed a new vitality; he can, in large measure, assure the success of an organizing drive—if his white co-workers will accept him.

CURRENT loose talk about Southern secession from AFL-CIO is a far cry from setting up a functioning Southern labor center. Unless the White Councils create a split at the regional level, they are merely blowing smoke about a separate federation. Contracts are held by internationals, not locals; NLRB legal loopholes, found with ease to defeat left-wing unions, will be hard to turn up for Dixiecrat schisms; vested interests in full-time jobs and local treasuries will have a slowing effect on any secession movement. The holding power of an established union is often underestimated. And employers like International Harvester may cooperate to help put racist secession down.

A practical economic program and a skillful approach can win unorganized Southern white workers to unionism. The job of channeling their ample grievances so as to overcome backwardness and apathy is a complex one. To many fresh from the farm, earnings even in the unorganized factories seem tremendous compared with the unrewarded hours of labor in the fields from sunup to sundown. But the Populist tradition is still strong in the South; the people resent absentee ownership of Southern resources. Folk sentiment and agrarian indignation against the "Big Mules," frequently expressed in

Biblical quotation and country songs, coincide with many labor and liberal aims.

After all, organized labor is neither stranger nor outsider to the South. The first general strike in America took place in New Orleans. Some craft unions, like the Raleigh, North Carolina, printers were chartered a century ago. Knights of Labor were effective in southern political action seventy years ago. In the early 1890s the Chattanooga AFL was busy helping embattled white and Negro miners in East Tennessee in their struggle to end the convict lease system.

The almost never-ending series of long hard-fought strikes in textiles reflect the fighting ability of the South's key industrial workers. Texas saw the only cowboy strike in history, and its legislature received the first bill dealing with labor's right to organize. The half-century-long fight against child labor was centered in Southern unions. And contrary to popular opinion, the record of Southern labor history has notable instances of interracial harmony.

Race relations undoubtedly present the most sensitive of all the complicated problems in organizing the South. Within the general framework of creating and maintaining unity of Negro and white, varied tactical approaches may prove necessary. Steady progress must be made in wiping out wage and advancement discrimination and in eliminating Jim Crow practices inside unions. But the South is so many different places and people, so many fragments of a complex whole, that a uniform policy may not be feasible.

An isolated and company-dominated Piedmont mill village with almost no colored workers is neither a Nashville nor a Greensboro with universities and Negro councilmen. Nor can Piedmont problems be equated with an all-Negro fertilizer or cotton-oil operation at a county seat in plantation country, where Negroes still can't register to vote. Workers in well-organized towns like Chattanooga, Gadsden or Durham—let alone Birmingham, Memphis or New Orleans—differ in outlook from those who continue marginal farming while they make more money than they have ever seen in the new air-conditioned plant at the crossroads.

ORGANIZING problems in the South, where the race issue can be volcanic, defy blueprint or easy solution. Liberals far removed from the battle line were sometimes shocked by concessions Dr. Frank Graham, Kefauver or Governor Folsom made in meeting the frontal onslaught of the racists. It is worth noting that militant Negro leadership closest to those situations often showed more understanding.

A firm and principled AFL-CIO position on civil rights and desegregation is one side of the coin. The other, according to sincere union officials, must be the flexibility of local day-to-day tactics that must be used to win the white workers who comprise the majority of those to be organized in the South.

In its essence, the Southern organizing drive is needed because so long as Southern workers are underpaid and unorganized, no Northern worker's pay envelope is safe. It will also have wider consequences. A successful campaign could cut away the mass base of the White Citizens Councils. Its effects on the surging Negro movement would be almost incalculable in the framework of the present segregation crisis. It could give courage to the faltering Faulkners and Carters and to liberals in the churches and the Democratic Party. It could give a voice to that vast silent South which has been virtually paralyzed by the unchallenged assault of the White Councils against the law of the land.

A Southern drive represents the most difficult organizing problem faced anywhere by American labor. The stakes—for labor, for the Negro, for the country—are immeasurably great.

6. Those Magnolia Myths . . *RICHARD A. LONG*

NO ONE would hesitate to give the South full credit for its myth-making faculty. There is the myth of the gracious ante-bellum South. This fantasy has international currency, in spite of the slimmest historical foundations. There is the myth that the Southern white understands the Negro better than any other white folks understand anything, including relativity. This persists despite the immense human improbability that a people so fundamentally terrorized as the Southern Negro would ever be candid enough with their terrorizers to permit the latter to understand anything about them.

Unfortunately, the South not only creates myths, but also believes in and hence is victimized by them. The acute observer of the currently steaming cauldron of Southern life should be aware of at least four grand myths in the process of construction. It is all the more important to recognize these, since they will be retailed to the American public not in the wool-hat manner of the elder Talmadge, but with the flashy techniques of Madison Avenue. Indeed, this observer has already heard or viewed echoes of the new mythology from sources so unexpected as Eric Sevareid, Adlai Stevenson, Luce's *Life* and the New York *Times Magazine*. I do not imply that these respected sources are blind, only that myths are powerful. I will list and comment briefly on each of the current myths.

•

The myth of extremism. A large portion of the comment that pours from the South seems to imply that there is no objection to securing for the Southern Negro a just right to education and freedom of the person, but that there are extremist Negro elements, particularly in the NAACP, who are trying to impose

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on the South in haste a completely new social order. Yet NAACP demands no more for the Negro than equal protection under law. It has never asked for more. Consequently, the purveyors of this myth rarely attempt to cite evidence to support the existence of this extremism. There is no such evidence.

•

The myth of intervention. This myth, derived from the carpetbagger prototype, pictures the Southern Negro as happy with his white folks, not even resenting an occasional lynching, judicial or otherwise. The smiling darky of the myth recognizes the propriety of riding in special sections of trains and street cars, and is overjoyed when a white high-school youth half his age addresses him as Uncle Mose instead of as Mr. Smith. So happy is Mose that only wily outsiders could stir up in him any resentment against the status quo. Now the fact is that the source of pressure for a new accounting in race relations is coming directly from Southern Negroes —and not primarily from the most travelled and highly educated among them, but from what can only be called the grass-roots. The reason that the white Southerners who do not know this are deceived is traceable to the older myth of "understanding" the Negro. The Negro they understand exists only in their imagination.

In a period in which suppressed peoples all over the world are rising up against oppression of all kinds, would it not be more than strange if, in a free society possessing the finest communications in the world, an obviously depressed element of the population did not register protest? The Southern Negro has a grievance against the South and he is seeking redress in the South.

•

The myth of equal complicity. This myth is based on the indisputable fact that there is discrimination against the Negro in the North. But it is difficult to see how any responsible observer can equate the situation in the North to the almost total denial of personal liberty to the Negro in the South. However, Adlai Stevenson's "plague on both your houses" is proof enough that the equation is made—and not only in the South. The Negro in the South, no matter who he is, is subject to a range of personal indignity so wide as to be incomprehensible to any white without training in social psychology. And he has no real recourse to the law. A Southern jury is precluded by the mores from bringing in a decision favorable to a Negro when a white man is involved. The exceptions, and none come to mind, prove nothing.

Anti-Semitism existed in the Third Reich in the thirties; it also existed in France. Anyone who attempted to explain the anti-Semitism in Germany by reference to that of France would be laughed out of court. Negroes were too shocked to laugh at Mr. Stevenson as he fell into the trap; white Americans, alas, did not know enough to laugh. There can be no comparison between discrimination against the Negro in the North and the sustained terrorism directed against him in the South.

•

The myth of the Southern moderate. This myth is almost purely for intellectual and liberal consumption and has not been heard from the politicians. Being practical men, the politicians would be embarrassed by such a compound of subtlety and vacuity. In essence it is that there is a class of Southerners, the moderates, who have been slowly working for the cause of the Negro, but who in the present temper of things are being driven to the wall. If extremist elements bring the crisis to a head, these moderates will be forced to take sides, moderation being incompatible with crisis, and they *will* take sides—not with the Negro for whom they have been moderately struggling, but (reluctantly) with the reactionary whites whom they have been moderately opposing. Nobel Prize-winner Faulkner put this warning in print, at a price, for all the world to see. That the lucidity of this appealed to Luce, himself a South Carolina planter and a moderate (both part-time, to be sure), is demonstrated by the follow-up editorial in *Life* cautioning Negroes, who have never been anything but slow in demanding the benefits of simple American citizenship, to "Go Slow."

If the work of these moderates has been so inconsequential that the first faint breeze will rip it to shreds, it has been a work of dreams rather than of substance. There is a class of Southerners, soft-spoken all, who know that in the wider American society there can be no defense for the South's treatment of the Negro and who, hankering after the acclaim of that wider society, have seemed to say so. But few of these persons have done more than make speeches and receive literary prizes in the North. Lillian Smith is not one of these. Mr. Faulkner is. He can be articulate about human dignity in Stockholm, and it is alleged by one class of critics that he treats the Negro as a human being in his fiction, but the fact remains that in the South his Stockholm appeal is not heard and his books are not read. In resting from the cause of moderation neither he nor his ilk will be missed, for they never were there. His letter to *Life* was as great a piece of effrontery as Mr. Dulles' "brink of war" manifesto. In the South, as throughout the world, the ground for action must be unfaltering devotion to justice.

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We may expect many other myths to be spawned to retard the overdue changes which are in process in the South; it is well to be aware of them, and to test each by the fundamental American ideology of the free man in the free society.

BOOKS and the ARTS

The Crusade of Indignation

NEGROES ON THE MARCH. A Frenchman's Report on the American Negro Struggle. By Daniel Guerin. George L. Weismann. $1.50.

GOODBYE TO UNCLE TOM. By J. C. Furnas. William Sloane Associates. $6.

By James Baldwin

"THE LOVE of money," St. Paul once wrote, with a fairly typical lack of precision, "is the root of all evil." This formulation seems to leave a great many evils out of account, and it does not even raise the question of just why the human heart, in which this love of money lives, should be so base. Nor does it raise the question of what money is, what is its power, what it means to people or states. With so many knotty questions thus neatly disposed of, people who share Paul's attitude about money can also believe—as he, being bigoted in quite another direction, did not—that people will be made better as their economic state improves. It is an extremely attractive theory, and most of us have at one time or another espoused it.

Only—in order to bring about this economic utopia, one needs a band of people who do not care about money—or power?—who will carry out the necessary operation of taking the money from those who now have an abundance of it and distributing it among those who have too little.

In this operation—the love of money persisting so tenaciously—blood is likely to be shed. And the shedding of blood will probably prove to be the operation's most real achievement. When things go back to what may be called normal, it will be seen that the people who were to be made better still persist in loving money and in trying—no matter what it may do to themselves, their neighbors, or their children—to make it.

People who approach the Negro problem from this doctrinaire point of view are always embarrassed by at least two facts. One is that Negroes love money quite as much as whites do, and rather more than they love one another. The other is that the people in America least attracted to the idea of a worker's state are the workers. They are not interested in themselves as workers—except in their clashes with management, in which they are represented by those other managers, the union leaders. They are interested in achieving what, in fact, can still be achieved at this period in American life: a measure of economic peace. Unless forced by outside pressure, they are not terribly concerned with what may be happening next door—among Negroes, for example.

In the Negro world, as in the white world, Negroes who have money band together and try to ignore the existence of their unluckier brothers. That is the way the love of money works. But neither money, nor the love of it, is the root of all evil. The importance of money is simply that power in the world does not exist without it and power in the world is what almost everyone would like to have.

The love of money thesis is the thesis of Daniel Guerin's *Negroes on The March,* and, since I find it impossible to take the thesis seriously, I find it rather difficult to discuss the book—which is, anyway, less a discussion of the American Negro's situation than a rather shrill diatribe against the capitalist system. No one with any pretension to intellectual honesty claims that the capitalist system is perfect, or is likely to be made so. It may indeed be doomed, and we may all be the slothful and pussy-footing creatures Mr. Guerin says we are. But his own tone is so extremely ungenerous that I cannot avoid a certain chill when I think of the probable fate of dissenters in his vari-colored brave new world. Here he is on Gunnar Myrdal, the Swedish social scientist whose *An American Dilemma* Mr. Guerin finds "feeble in *interpretation*'. (All italics are Mr. Guerin's). ". . . it does not explain *how, by whom, and why race prejudice was brought into being.*" (It certainly does not; I, too, should like to read the book which does). But Myrdal's feebleness, it turns out, is blacker than mere incompetence: "Without calling into question Myrdal's good faith, we must nevertheless make the observation that his method is quite in harmony with the concerns of those who subsidized his work and serves their interests quite well. For what did the trustees of the Carnegie Foundation actually want?" What they didn't want was a "cause-and-effect relationship. . . . established between capitalist oppression and race prejudice." Bright students, or people who have heard this song before will already have guessed the reason, as follows: ". . . victims of race prejudice would be likely to draw conclusions dangerous to the established order." Nor would the awakened white workers have taken long to realize that their best interests lay in black-white solidarity. Myrdal's real task, according to Mr. Guerin, was to avoid saying anything which, by leading to such a holocaust, would displease and possibly destroy the Carnegie Foundation.

A MAN whose vision of the world remains as elementary as Mr. Guerin's can scarcely be trusted to help us understand it. It is true enough, for example, as far as it goes, that slavery was established and then abolished for economic reasons; but slavery did not come into the world along with capitalism any more than race prejudice did; and it need scarcely be said, at this late date, that where capitalism has been abolished slavery and race prejudice yet remain. It is also true—again, as far as it goes—that, as Mary McLeod Bethune said, "The voice of organized

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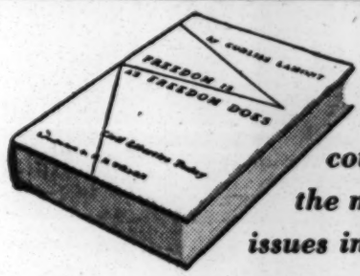
JAMES BALDWIN is the author of Go Tell It on the Mountain *and* Notes of a Native Son. *He is living at present in Paris.*

labor has become one of the most powerful in the land and unless we have a part in that voice our people will not be heard." But "our people" are then speaking as a part of organized labor. Labor's interests may often be identical with the Negro's interests; but Mr. Guerin fails to understand that, in the light of the white worker's desire to achieve greater status, his aims and those of the Negro often clash quite bitterly.

All this is changing, to be sure, but so very, very slowly, and in such unexpected ways that only a madman would dare to predict the final issue—if one can speak, in human affairs, of a final issue. The world in which people find themselves is not simply a vindictive plot imposed on them from above; it is also the world they have helped to make. They have helped to make, and help to sustain it by sharing the assumptions which hold their world together. Mr. Guerin's book, so far from having broken with any of the assumptions which have helped to cause such agony in the world—so far from being revolutionary or even "modern" —is a desperate cliche, is painfully, stiflingly old-fashioned. It is certainly not revolutionary today to suggest, that, whereas it was wrong for capitalists to murder workers, it is right for workers to murder capitalists; whereas it is wrong for whites to murder Negroes, Negroes may be pardoned for murdering whites. Mr. Guerin is unable to recognize a sadly persistent fact: the concepts contained in words like "freedom," "justice," "democracy" are not common concepts; on the contrary, they are rare. People are not born knowing what these are. It takes enormous and, above all, individual effort to arrive at the respect for other people that these words imply. Since Mr. Guerin lacks any sense of history, except as something to be manipulated, and has really no respect whatever for the human personality, he is unable to give us any sense of the perpetual interaction of these forces on one another. Without this sense all states become abstractions, and lawless ones at that.

MR. GUERIN wants us all to go out right away and begin preparing for the equitable new state which will succeed to the present inequitable one; and should the present state seem reluctant to wither away, he has no objection to setting it to the torch. One of his heroes, John Brown, is one of the minor villains in J. C. Furnas' admirable *Goodbye To Uncle Tom.* Mr. Furnas' attitude can be gathered from his comment that "What Mrs. Stowe and John Brown did was not to create the forces that would free the slave but to make sure that North and South went into their crisis in the least promising state of mind." In view of the enormous bitterness the Civil War has left us, this statement seems disquietingly close to the truth. It suggests that indignation and goodwill are not enough to make the world better. Clarity is needed, as well as charity, however difficult this may be to imagine, much less sustain, toward the other side. Perhaps the worst thing that can be said about social indignation is that it so frequently leads to the death of personal humility. Once that has happened, one has ceased to live in that world of men which one is striving so mightily to make over. One has entered into a dialogue with that terrifying deity, sometimes called History, previously, and perhaps again, to be referred to as God, to which no sacrifice in human suffering is too great.

Mr. Furnas maintains that, despite



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the world-renowned indignation of its author, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* is a shoddy and almost totally undocumented piece of fiction, which it is; and, further, that it is this book which has set the tone for the attitude of American whites toward Negroes for the last one hundred years. This may seem, at first, rather too heavy a weight to place on a single book. Yet when one considers this novel's enormous prestige and popularity, remembers that it was read for generations as though it were another Bible, that it is involved with the deepest, most lasting bitterness and the bloodiest conflict this nation has ever known; when one reflects, above all, how it flatters the popular mind, positively discouraging that mind from any tendency to think the matter through for itself—and this to such an extent that both pro and anti-Negro sentiment have read this book as scripture—one is forced to the conclusion that Mr. Furnas is almost certainly more nearly right than wrong. Add to this the impact of the "Tom" shows, which persisted, according to Mr. Furnas, until 1933, the last one being heard of in 1950, which definitively jettisoned whatever validity Mrs. Stowe's work might have had, and which introduced—with Topsy—that blackfaced comic-character who is the despair of Negro actors even today—well, at least it can be said that few indeed are the novels which can boast of such a long, varied and influential life, few the novels which the objective conditions conspired to keep in fashion for so long. Even today, Mr. Furnas places the annual sale of this novel at about 8,000 copies.

And, indeed, if anyone seriously doubts that the attitudes to be found in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* are still prevalent among us, he has only to wade or sit through that other publishing landmark and mammoth movie, *Gone With The Wind,* or see almost any other movie dealing with Negro life, or read almost any other novel on the same subject published in this country since 1852. Or simply: ask himself what he really knows about the American Negro, what he really feels about him. It is a question, after all, whether what we will here call the ordinary American of good will knows anything more about Negro life than what has filtered through to him via memories of an exemplary Negro maid, or the experience—for which he is almost certainly not prepared—of, say, some Billie Holiday records, perhaps a trip or two through Harlem, perhaps one or two Negro colleagues, or a Negro college friend. And what he *feels* concerning all this is a mystery, probably even to himself. The sad truth is that he has probably taken refuge from this exceedingly disturbing question in the arbitrary decision that Negroes are just like everybody else. But, obviously, and especially in this context, this is no truer than the sporadically old-fashioned notion that Negroes are inferior to everybody else: sporadically, because fashions in thought—in the breast and in the world—are subject to bewildering and shameful cycles. We have all had the experience of finding that our reactions and perhaps even our deeds have denied beliefs we thought were ours. And this is the danger of arriving at arbitrary decisions in order to avoid the risks of thought, of striking arbitrary attitudes. If the attitude is a cover, what it is covering will inevitably be revealed.

Memo From The Publisher

A few weeks ago, the librarian of one of America's most important newspapers called our Circulation Manager on the phone.

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All magazines prefer subscriptions to newsstand sales, of course. But in this instance our concern with losing seven subscriptions is tempered by (1) satisfaction in the thought that this important newspaper wants The Nation **on time** badly enough to pay extra for it, and (2) the notion that we are going to get those subscriptions back.

For we have good news for many of our subscribers who have patiently suffered through similarly delayed deliveries. As you know, we have been printing and mailing the magazine during the past year from Montgomery, Alabama, and the complications of the postal service have made things difficult. Now we are again mailing from New York City (printing there, too), and we feel sure we will soon have the delivery problem licked.

But apart from the delivery, we have altered the package somewhat—new, clearer type and a bolder, fresher look to the cover. Quality content, attractively packaged and delivered promptly—what more can a reader ask of a magazine?

GEORGE G. KIRSTEIN
Publisher

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And exactly this, in fact, has happened so often that there is another, and very crucial difficulty encountered in interracial communication, in attempting to discover not *what*, but *who* the Negro is. In the first place, popular belief to the contrary, it is not enough to have been born a Negro to understand the history of Negroes in America. And, whereas whites have a complicated social machinery and a natural—and cultivated—mental and spiritual laziness operating to keep far from them any sense of how Negroes live; Negroes, beginning with the natural desire to escape the humiliations, the downright persecutions, which Negroes endure, end, often enough, by despising all the *other* Negroes who have brought them to this condition—a condition which they spend incalculable amounts of energy blotting out of their conscious minds. But they, naturally enough, therefore, also hate all whites, who make the world as bleak for them as does a cloud before the sun. This universal hatred, turning inward and feeding on itself, is not the least ghastly aspect of the heritage of the American Negro, for all that it remains, by its nature, so hidden. It is, for one thing, the absolute death of the communication which might help to liberate both Negroes and whites.

And all this, according to Mr. Furnas (and in the words of Abraham Lincoln) because of the "little woman who made this big war." Well, of course, not quite. Mr. Furnas, who clearly cannot stand the "little woman," makes the point that she was able to have such a tremendous effect because she was a mildly gifted woman who mirrored the assumptions of her time—and place—so perfectly. She helped to inspire and keep aflame the zeal in the general Northern breast to liberate those slaves, of whom they knew only that the souls belonged to God. Of the motives beneath the zeal she helped inspire, Mrs. Stowe knew nothing; it was not real to her that the war which was finally being fought was not being fought to free the slave, that it was a hand to hand contest between the North and the South for dominance. And when the slave was finally freed, it developed that his soul did indeed belong to God and that God could take it, for all the nation seemed to care.

For it is easy to proclaim all souls equal in the sight of God: it is hard to make men equal on earth, in the sight of men. This problem had never entered Mrs. Stowe's mind, for the reason that it had never entered her mind that the Negro could conceivably *be* an equal. She knew nothing about the Africa, to which projects were made to send him, as, when writing *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, she had known nothing of slavery beyond what she had gathered by reading and one or two short trips to Kentucky. Perhaps if she had known more about the slave's condition, and what this condition does to a people, she (and the nation) would have had a more realistic, more responsible view of what would probably happen when thousands of unlettered, abruptly homeless, totally vulnerable and unprepared people were turned loose upon the body politic. Mr. Furnas is not being unjust when he observes that the righteous zeal of Mrs. Stowe, like that of most of the Abolitionists, resembled that of an anti-vivisectionist committee. It had not entered their heads that they were fighting for the rights of men like themselves. They were fighting for the right of the "sons of Ethiopia, whatever . . . their natural stupidity . . . to stretch forth their hands to God." Of the right of the "sons of Ethiopia" to conquer that unquestioned "natural stupidity," of their right to work, live, vote, marry, and even to become unbelievers, they had never thought. We are until today struggling with many of the results

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In the sunny years of nearing
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The shadow of the western hill
Climbing the sunnyside of the
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of this righteous zeal in action.

One of the results is the continuing bitterness felt by the descendants of those "sons of Ethiopia," whom we have never yet, wholly, managed to regard as men. Perhaps nothing in *Goodbye To Uncle Tom* more justifies the title than Mr. Furnas' unsentimental insistence that this must be done, and now, for no other reason than our common humanity, and that the way to begin is by taking a hard look at oneself.

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Instead of Repression

EROS AND CIVILIZATION. A Philosophical Inquiry into Freud. By Herbert Marcuse. Beacon Press. $3.95.

By Abraham Edel

THIS BOOK HAS special pertinence in a world whose tensions set up increasing psychological stress within the individual. Professor Marcuse does not try to figure out how much we can take, nor whether we are approaching a breaking-point, nor whether our inner demands, rebelling against a growing impersonal coercion, will successfully impel a reorganization of social life. Rather, he lays before us in its fullest theoretical scope, the burden that our repressive civilization places on our fundamental drives, separates carefully what is due to survival needs and what serves instead the interests of domination, shows how far the latter is unnecessary in the modern world with its advanced scientific possibilities and suggests what changes in attitude to work and play, value and association would be the consequence of a genuine relaxation of the repressive outlook.

The form which his inquiry takes is a detailed philosophical reinterpretation of Freud's speculations on the biological basis of the instincts and their repression in the history of civilization. Freud's conclusion was that civilization involves the permanent subjection of the instincts, that the reality principle is irretrievably bound up with the repression of the pleasure principle, even perhaps that rebellious outbursts of cruelty and destruction are a price that must be paid for civilization. Instead of abandoning instinct theory as many of the neo-Freudians do, Professor Marcuse attempts a reinterpretation which allows the development of a non-repressive structure. It involves, for example, seeing the death instinct, the source of aggression, as primarily an attempt to avoid pain; also speculation on the path libidinal energies might take to make work lose its "alienated" character.

Professor Marcuse combines his psychological analysis with reflections on the development of such philosophical categories as reason. When he touches such a category it comes to life and all its cultural content becomes transparent in its momentous implications. In general, the book is an excellent example of the way in which speculative and sensitive philosophical inquiry steeped in scientific materials can break open a field and offer all sorts of fresh lights, making the most taken-for-granted assertion turn into a problem. But it yields too readily to a dangerous tendency which often besets such an inquiry—taking success in working out an alternative interpretation as if it constituted a kind of demonstration. Actually, the full test of such insights must depend on the further research they themselves suggest.

ABRAHAM EDEL is a member of the Department of Philosophy at the City College of New York and author of The Theory and Practice of Philosophy *and* Ethical Judgment: The Use of Science in Ethics.

The Lone Man

THOREAU OF WALDEN. By Henry Beetle Hough. Simon and Schuster. $4.

By Jacob Korg

CONTENDING that critics have been wrong to call Thoreau's life "uneventful," Mr. Hough gives a nimble and detailed account of his family life, travels, friendships, attempts at making a living and occasional challenges to social order. Since no biography of Thoreau can give a fair impression of the man without quoting his own sturdy language, Mr. Hough often has recourse to quotations. Thoreau did not tell all the facts about his life, but he had the last word, in advance, on most subjects that interested him.

Mr. Hough gives the important

JACOB KORG is assistant professor of English at the University of Washington.

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information that Thoreau was in love a number of times and had a long attachment to Emerson's wife. "Let us love," he wrote, "by refusing, not accepting one another." He worked at teaching and manufacturing pencils, but concluded, "It is not necessary that a man should earn his living by the sweat of his brow, unless he sweats easier than I do." Thoreau was an active member of the knot of Concord intellectuals grouped around Emerson, and Mr. Hough tells a great deal about these friends and their influence on him. Thoreau's comment was, "I have a great deal of company in my house, especially in the morning, when nobody calls."

There is no doubt that Thoreau's character was built on a New England framework. But he had the genius to transform the wisdom of the country store into a noble morality. The Yankee is an individualist; Thoreau insisted on being an individual. For his neighbors, thrift meant saving and sparing; for Thoreau it meant withholding himself from the unimportant task of making money. His Yankee shrewdness lay in finding out exactly what was necessary for life and what was not. The people of Concord were honest enough, but Thoreau's honesty led him to ask what right the government of the United States had to exist if it tolerated slavery. Using the common lumber of decent principles he made a vision, just as he took the slats from an Irishman's shanty to build his private Olympus at Walden.

One often hears the complaint that Thoreau's ideas are irrelevant to the problems Americans face today. When the facts of his life and environment are considered, it seems clear that his roots are buried far out of the sight of a clever and prying generation. Psychoanalysis can point to his suspiciously barren sex life, but can make nothing of it. His economic theories were appropriate only to a neolithic society. He was no sociologist, for he explicitly resisted and rejected reform. He might be called a mystic if he had been less interested in the price of nails and the technique of baking bread. The fact that Thoreau offers comfort neither to a civilization ridden by complex public needs and private inadequacies nor to its critics is a part of his strategy which we are perhaps only just discovering. Though Gandhi, by exception, made use of his doctrine of civil resistance, Thoreau is not a weapon to be used in other men's wars. His stirring ideas have always inspired imitation, but they lend themselves to no motives but his own.

Note: The third installment of Harold Clurman's Report on the German Theatre will appear next week.

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TELEVISION

Anne W. Langman

ONCE upon a time there was (and there is) a TV station in California called KTTV. And KTTV had an affiliation agreement with a big network called the Columbia Broadcasting System which owned 49 per cent of its stock. So KTTV used CBS network programs and filled in with locally produced and syndicated shows. In 1951, the big network sold its KTTV stock to the *Times-Mirror* Company, publisher of the Los Angeles *Times* and the Los Angeles *Mirror-News,* and acquired 100 per cent ownership of another TV station in Los Angeles and lived happily ever after. KTTV affiliated with a middle-sized network called Dumont which, sad to relate, did not survive very long at all. In 1954, KTTV became independent and operated all by itself without a big network or a middle-sized network or even a little network. Everything went along very well for KTTV. It supplemented its live local shows with good quality film programs and was a strong competitor for the network stations in its area. But after a bit President Richard A. Moore noticed that the nice filmed shows were beginning to peter out, and he was worried about KTTV and all the other TV stations that didn't have network affiliations. So Richard Moore went to Washington, where he told his troubles to the Senate Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. He said that the reason for them was that the TV industry is not being conducted on normal principles of free competition. And what he said has caused lots of excitement in and about the TV industry.

And there is another, what you might call coincidental, fairy story: Once upon a time there was a big Republican Senator from Ohio called John W. Bricker. One of Senator Bricker's favorite pieces of legislation was something he thought up called the Bricker Amendment, which he liked so much that he wanted it to become a law. Some people thought

it was a good thing and some people did not. There was a TV producer who decided to have a discussion of the Bricker amendment on his program and he rounded up some people, including the Senator, to discuss it. But the Senator didn't get as much time on the show as he thought he should have, and the discussion didn't come out as favorably as he thought it should have and he was quite angry. Then Senator Bricker had a couple of other unpleasant experiences with the networks, who perhaps were not always willing to give him what he wanted.

Now Senator Bricker is an important man. He is the ranking Republican on the Senate Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. He also has a lot of good friends who are important too. One of his very good and important friends is the Chandler family of Los Angeles. The Chandler family own lots of things and they like them all to be very successful. They own the *Times-Mirror* Company, and through it they own KTTV. KTTV had some trouble being successful because of certain network practices. KTTV was not very favorably inclined toward the networks because of its trouble, and Senator Bricker was not too favorably inclined toward the networks because of his trouble and the Chandler family was very favorably inclined toward Senator Bricker—so Richard Moore went to Washington and what he said caused lots of excitement in the TV industry.

TELEVISION may well end up being the most investigated industry in the U.S. Three government agencies are now in different stages of probing into it: the Federal Communications Commission, which hopes to conclude its self-examination in June 1957; the House Judiciary Antitrust Subcommittee which, led by Representative Emanuel Celler (D. N.Y.), a strong anti-truster, will investigate all government regulated industries, starting with TV and the FCC; and Senator Warren G. Magnunson's Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee which has been at its investigation for two years or more. Moore's testimony was the spark that stirred the long-smoldering embers into

She never slept in a bed!

This is Maria, aged 8. She lives in Kalavryta, the "Lidice" of Greece. Her father was killed by the rebels. Her mother wanders the countryside, weak in mind after years of suffering. Home is a cave dug out of a cliff. Bed is the earthen floor on which dirty rags are spread at night. Food is an occasional bowl of soup, a few greens or a piece of bread begged from a poor neighbor. Maria's is the lost generation, lost from the want of love of fellow creatures and even the simple needs of food and shelter. How can she grow up . . . who will help her?

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flames. The news began to make headlines: "Washington investigations of TV broadcasters raise questions concerning bigness and quality," "Senator Bricker is way off base with TV monopoly complaint," "Stanton hits at distortions by Bricker and Moore," "TV profit small Sarnoff insists," "'What antitrust?' sez Stanton in defense of CBS," "TV networks at crossroads".

THE "monopoly, monopoly" cry calls up strong reactions pro and con government control of big business which are not new to American democracy. There is a large watershed of experience to draw on for just resolution of industrial giganticism. However the TV industry is uniquely dominant in American life. Consider that more than three-quarters of all the families in the country have television and spend more time watching their sets than in any other single activity except sleep. And during 1955, according to *Business Week*, "the public plunked down a solid $3.3 billion to buy its home entertainment . . . not far below the estimated $4 billion that Americans spent for newspapers, magazines, movies, legitimate theatre and other live attractions and all spectator sports—combined." The control of the kind and nature of programs that Americans will see is at the heart of the battle currently under way in Washington.

The networks, in large measure, have control today and are determined to keep it. The advertiser and his grey-flanneled agency man would like to latch on to a bit of control. So would the film syndicators who make filmed TV shows, and so would Senator Bricker and others in the government. To date, whatever government control exists is exerted through FCC licensing of individual stations, some of which make up the networks, some of which are independent. Otherwise, regulation is an internal matter, determined by the pressure of business competition and by operating know-how. Relationships between network and stations, network and advertiser, network and independent producers have grown, topsy-like, to the balance now under examination.

A network owns stations (seven is the legal limit), it controls affiliated stations, it owns a distributing company, it controls production. It has its own merchandising company and film company which makes, buys and distributes films for TV. In turn the network is owned by an overall company which manufactures sets and is in the electronic industry in many other capacities. The 224 page "memorandum" on "Network Practices", compiled by Frank Stanton of CBS for the current investigations, gives some idea of the size of such an operation. It costs CBS-TV $700,000 a week to run the network operation, exclusive of program costs. This involves a payroll of 5,493 persons, 2,412 of which are employed full time. (In 1949 CBS-TV employed 427 personnel.) CBS-TV maintains twenty-nine studios involving an investment of more than 30 millions. In 1955, 2,561 hours of programming were transmitted by CBS; it cost 22 millions.

A major bone of contention in the Washington investigations is the "option time" agreements which networks make with their affiliate stations and which provide that during three hours of each of three time segments of the day, a station will accept the sponsored program offered by the network. This precludes the use of that time (and it is the most desirable time) for any other program source. A second trouble spot is the "must-buy" principle which requires a sponsor to buy at least fifty-one per cent of outlets for his program if he wants to use prime time (7:30 to 10:30 pm) on the network.

The biggest trouble of all—and the one that makes TV different from other industries plagued by bigness—is the spectrum. No other communications business is limited by the physical construction of the universe: there is in theory no limit to the newspapers that can be printed, telephone lines built, movies made. But there is a limit to the number of TV stations that can use the spectrum. Nature here is abetting the urge to monopoly and is compounding the problems of distribution and control.

(This is the first of a series of reports on the TV investigations. Subsequent columns will take up the case for the networks and the case for their opponents.)

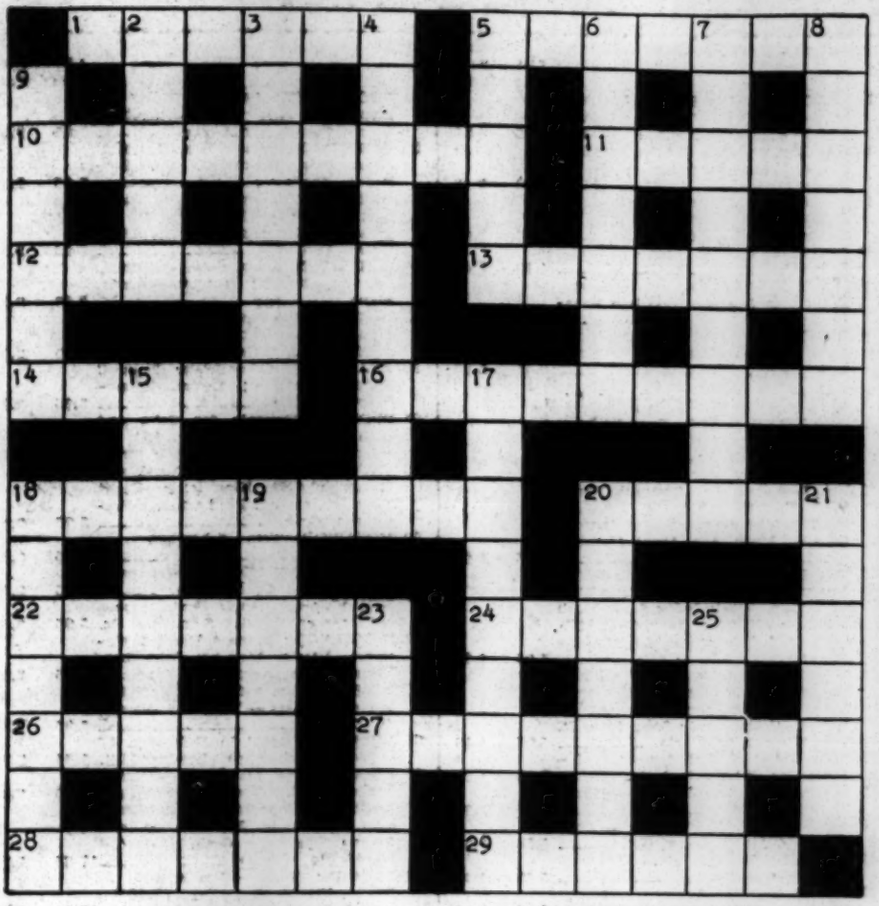
RECORDS

B. H. Haggin

TO THE Budapest Quartet's earlier recordings of the six Mozart quartets dedicated to Haydn—K.385, 421, 428, 458 (*Hunt*), 464, 465—Columbia has added recordings of K.499, which is a work of the same major stature, and the final three quartets dedicated to the King of Prussia—K.575, 589 and 590—which are not of that stature, though they contain lovely writing. K.499 and 575 are on ML-5007; 589 and 590 on ML-5008. Music-lovers have long treasured the pre-war Budapest Quartet performance of K.499 on Victor 78-rpm records for what seemed to be the ultimate in the playing of Mozart by a string quartet; and one is therefore amazed to hear this surpassed now by inflection of phrase that is even more sensitively and subtly detailed. Unfortunately Columbia's recording once again reproduces the group's playing with dry, hard and—in Roisman's case—strident sound. Each new failure makes it more astounding that, in all the years of recording the Budapest Quartet, Columbia has managed only once, with the Dvorak Piano Quintet, to achieve an accurate reproduction of the warm sound of the four strings, and in particular the dark, rich sound of Mischa Schneider's cello. Columbia achieved this success in its New York studio, after failing with the Beethoven, Schubert and Mozart recordings in the Library of Congress auditorium; and what is incomprehensible is that after succeeding with the Dvorak in this way Columbia should have gone back to the Library of Congress to fail with Haydn's Op. 76 and now with these additional Mozart quartets.

Crossword Puzzle No. 679

By FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS:

1 Good French lacework on top, perhaps! (6)
5 Without the middle, one wouldn't stand drinks all around. (The proof may not have a high percentage if one does!) (7)
10 Openings that give out only pure tears. (9)
11 Starts out brilliantly in school, perhaps. (5)
12 25 was responsible for a good deal of this 2 down. (7)
13 The perfect type. (7)
14 and 7 down Some people knock down lots with this, but it's gradually disappearing. (5, 5, 4)
16 Some consider such things a rare treat. (9)
18 They're blind — in fact will be dead in the end. (3-2-4)
20 Somewhat less than a friend, if headed wrong to finish like the devil. (5)
22 They may fit the scaffold, but are tricky with a thimble. (7)
24 Gets there, as around a winding river. (7)
26 It's not a fact that 5 down might have started it. (5)
27 Perhaps dangerous sort of rig with awkward divers around. (9)
28 The components of this stew are possibly good for a cold. (7)
29 Flora and Hilda? A strange combination! (6)

DOWN:

2 One of these would be work! (5)
3 Not including the cost of the lace! (7)
4 Would its victim be bitten by the dance bug? (9)
5 Poe's a somewhat older storyteller! (5)
6 His is usually a different sort of work than 2. (7)
7 See 14 across
8 Preserved in libraries. (7)
9 A pain one might feel about six — under the feet, perhaps. (6)
15 It's hard to figure such things out. (9)
17 Wanted to get around Father, but gave up. (9)
18 An automobile can be made safe finally for carrying liquor. (7)
19 Supposedly a simple thing, but it may be difficult to remember its place according to the table. (7)
20 Rub the wrong way, and angle about, or just rub the right way? (7)
21 Stand. (6)
23 Cut, but not deep enough to be severe. (5)
25 He started out to make 27, but ended up making 2. (5)

(Answer to Puzzle 678 on page 27)

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July 31, 1956

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am enclosing tear sheets of a communication we received recently from Sidney Lens. Wouldn't you like to send us a communication by way of rejoinder? (I would be glad to pay you for it.) As I understand it you take the position that insofar as a presidential situation is concerned this is a good campaign to sit out. I am sure our readers would like to know why you think so and how you would justify not voting.

I am also sending you a copy of our special issue on Jim Crow. I would like very much to know what you think about it. Could you send us possibly a statement for publication?

Best wishes,

Carey McWilliams
Editor

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